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# The Psychoanalytic Review

Devoted to the  
Study of Human Conduct

EDITED AND PUBLISHED BY

WILLIAM D. HALL AND SMITH ELY JELLIFFE, M.D.

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# THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW

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## ORIGINAL ARTICLES

### FREUD AND SOCIOLOGY

BY ERNEST R. GROVES

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Sociology at present appears to be little influenced by the writings of Doctor Sigmund Freud. A recent article entitled *War and Individual Psychology*<sup>1</sup> by Doctor Ernest Jones, a leading Freudian author, applies Freud's teaching to the great social event of our time and claims that the theory of Freud has significance for the student of society as well as for the alienist. Any one who follows the increasing contributions from Freudian writers in regard to the motives and forms of human conduct appreciates that the Freudian interpretation cannot be accepted without being of great importance to the sociologist. Indeed it is rather strange that Freud has not been given greater attention by writers on social problems, that he has not received more criticism from the social point of view.

Certainly there can be no doubt about the importance that the Freudian school claims for the Freudian system outside of the field of mental pathology. The secondary title of the American Freudian periodical is "A Journal Devoted to an Understanding of Human Conduct." In plainest terms disciples of Freud have stated that his teaching is of the greatest value in giving a basis for the interpretation of the motives and actions of men. "Among the different views expressed on the neuroses, those of Freud stand out most conspicuously. No recent theories in medicine or psychology have evoked so many controversies and discussions. After years of careful and painstaking labor Freud evolved not only a system of psychotherapy, but a new psychology. Unlike all other in-

<sup>1</sup> Sociological Review, July, 1915.

E. K. G.  
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vestigators, he discarded all generalities and confined himself to the individual. The individual factors which had escaped the notice of other investigators he found to be of the utmost importance in the psychogenetic development of personality."<sup>2</sup> "The new psychology of dreams, as elaborated by Freud, represents one of the greatest advances ever made in our knowledge of the human mind and of human motives. For abnormal psychology, dream-analysis can be compared only in importance with the discovery of the origin of species and of the factors of organic evolution in the field of biology."<sup>3</sup> "It was while tracing back the abnormal to the normal state that Professor Freud found how faint the line of demarcation was between the normal and neurotic person, and that the psychopathologic mechanisms so glaringly observed in the psychoneuroses and psychoses could usually be demonstrated in a lesser degree in normal persons."<sup>4</sup>

The sociologist who attempts to keep in contact with the rapidly developing literature of the Freudians realizes that the teaching of this new system of psychology contains social significance. The Freudians appear conscious of it, as for example Burrows' article on *Psycho-analysis and Society*.<sup>5</sup> Freud himself frequently recognizes the social import of his teaching. A very clear statement of the present relation of his school and society is found in his lecture on *The Future Chances of Psycho-analytic Therapy*<sup>6</sup> delivered before the Second Psycho-analytic Congress at Nurnberg in 1910 and also in his article *Concerning "Wild" Psychoanalysis*.<sup>7</sup>

An interesting illustration of an attempt to use the Freudian psychology in the interpretation of a historical character is found in the study of Ernest Jones entitled *The Case of Louis Bonaparte, King of Holland*.<sup>8</sup> In so far as poetry and literature is of social significance the student of society cannot fail to be interested in the relation that the Freudian finds between his system and art. A good example of a Freudian interpretation of art is found in Prescott's

<sup>2</sup> Brill, *Psychoanalysis*, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Coriat, *The Meaning of Dreams*, preface.

<sup>4</sup> Brill, *Introduction to Freud's Psychopathology of Everyday Life*.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Vol. 7, pp. 340-346.

<sup>6</sup> Freud (Brill tr.), *Papers on Hysteria and Other Psychoneuroses*, pp. 207-215.

<sup>7</sup> Freud (Brill tr.), *Papers on Hysteria and Other Psychoneuroses*, pp. 201-206.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Vol. 8, pp. 289-301.



paper on Poetry and Dreams<sup>9</sup> and perhaps most important of all Freud's *Eine Kindheitserinnerung des Leonardo da Vinci*.<sup>10</sup>

The student of society surely may be expected to give some attention, and without prejudice, to the claims put forth by this vigorous group of psychologists who are attempting to explain human conduct upon the basis of mental causation. The most dogmatic opponent of Freud would probably admit that out of the discussion started by him some valuable information in regard to the motives and actions of men is bound to come. In fairness to the service already performed by Freud and his disciples it may be safely said that the Freudian psychology has thrown light upon human conduct and given information of value to the sociologist. It is no small matter that the relatively ignored sex life as a source of important influences upon the individual has been brought under discussion and is receiving the study that it rightly deserves. Attention is the forerunner of truth and the sociologist may well be thankful that Freud has forced upon the problem of sex the consideration that its social importance justifies.

Even the sociologist has slighted the sex element. The student of primitive sociology is least open to this criticism, for he necessarily has had to recognize the immense place that sex, in one form or another, has held in primitive folkways. It is, nevertheless, the Freudian himself who deserves most credit for realizing the significance of sex in primitive thinking and acting. For the most part, however, as one reads sociological literature the impression given in regard to the influence of sex is one of relative unimportance. The same statement may be made of our psychology up to the work of Freud. It has been possible to take in college several courses in psychology under teachers of reputation without hearing the sex complex even mentioned as having importance to the student of mind.

It is doubtful whether this relative neglect of sex can ever be true again in the history of the mental and social sciences. Even Freud's opponents attack him for exaggerating the meaning of sex as a source of causal influences upon the individual rather than for affirming the fact itself. The importance of the sex element in the individual's mental history is no longer to be denied. It follows that the sex element must receive new emphasis from the sociologist for what concerns the individual must also have signif-

<sup>9</sup> *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, Vol. 7, pp. 17-46, 104-143.

<sup>10</sup> *Schriften zur Angewandten Seelenkunde*.

icance for the group. The Freudian controversy opens up anew the whole problem of instincts as they operate in the highly complex modern society. Indeed the reader of Freudian writings gathers the impression that the sex elements of life are to be given such importance that the conception of man as the sex animal *sui generis* seems likely to become a rival of the historic economic man. The most friendly interest in the reports made by Freudian investigators is not likely to blind the social student to the need of sanity. Without doubt nevertheless the sex elements—sex complex—have a significance in man's life that they do not have in the lower animals; in the sense that man is influenced by a sex history the lower animals are not sexual at all. This fact escapes some of Freud's critics. Freud's system is not built upon the mere reproductive instincts; the significant sex life is mental in origin. And yet when the theory is properly stated, even when it is modified by the later statement of Jung, the sociologist will be suspicious of the attempt to interpret man's conduct as being so largely influenced by one system of thought and emotion. We are glad that sex is to have its appropriate investigation; we do not expect, however, that sex will be proven to be the one fundamental source of human motives. The Freudians, themselves, disclaim belief in the absolute domination of sex within the realm of human conduct even when the term is used in the broadest Freudian sense.<sup>11</sup>

The sociologist, nevertheless, is certain to realize how difficult it has been in the past to judge justly the significance of sex. He knows how profoundly social custom has acted to conceal the real meaning of the sex or love complex—and it appears as if the term love is a happier expression in English of the Freudian use of the concept, sex—and to bring into prominence as sources of motives interests that were made strong because they were really derivatives of the hidden sex complex socially transformed. The student of primitive life cannot think it strange that the Freudian turns to primitive experience as a most fruitful field for illustrations both of the real importance of sex interests and their social repression.

The social history of primitive folks discloses the profound influence of sex interests, expressed in symbolisms, taboo and transferences, upon the life of the people. It even appears that the Freudian theory of sublimation as a wholesome expression of repressed energy finds abundant proof in the advantages of social control preventing precocious sex experiences. This is shown by

<sup>11</sup> Putnam, *Human Motives*, p. 87.

the evil that results from the precocious sex experiences of the African negro.<sup>12</sup> Professor Ross states that South American boys, in Peru for example, reach a marked mental arrest about the sixteenth or seventeenth year as a result of precocious sexual indulgence and he believes that the superiority of the women in parts of South America, as compared with the men, is due to the higher morality demanded of the growing girl.<sup>13</sup> Sublimation must have had from early time a very important social function, a significance socially that grew with the increasing coercion placed upon matters of sex by a society becoming more complex and more sex-conscious. Brill in describing the history of a normal sex development by which certain sexual feelings are pushed away from the sexual aim and directed to new uses, shows<sup>14</sup> how the process brings a social result of the utmost value. The sex feelings "help in the formation of those components which constitute the social feelings and thus contribute to the maintenance of friendship, *camaraderie* and public spirit. This is the so-called process of sublimation." The social value of this sublimation has been well expressed by the following statement by Otto Rank and Hanns Sachs: "In all cases, the effect of the ambivalence is to cause the victorious member, in order to assure its supremacy, to show an unusual intensity in the conscious mental life (reaction formation); to this reaction formation the instinct under subjection also affords a contribution of energy since the possibility of direct expression was taken from it by the repression. Still more important for the purposes of civilization is the ability of many instincts to change their modes of gratification by accepting another aim for winning of pleasure in place of the one previously enjoyed; the two modes of gratification must be similar and between the old and new aims there must be an associative connection. In this way, it is possible to divert at least a portion of the gross sexual instincts of the child to higher cultural aims (sublimation). The portion not divertible, so far as it may not be directly gratified, falls under the repression."<sup>15</sup>

The dream has become the corner stone of the Freudian system. Since it expresses a wish, according to Freud, the dream, when rightly interpreted, reveals the hidden motives. As a result of Freud's investigations, "the dream had become the real interpreter

<sup>12</sup> Dowd, *The Negro Races*, p. 360.

<sup>13</sup> Ross, *South of Panama*, pp. 183-184.

<sup>14</sup> Brill, *Psychoanalysis*, p. 172.

<sup>15</sup> Significance of Psychoanalysis, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. 2, No. 3, p. 307.

of normal human life and of abnormal mental mechanisms and through the elaboration of the psychoanalytic method, which was made possible through this new dream psychology, the dream had also become the most potent instrument for the removal of the symptoms of certain functional nervous disturbances."<sup>16</sup> This emphasis upon the dream and discovery of its mental significance on the part of the Freudians is of interest to the sociologist. If the Freudian theory of the dream can be successfully established the sociologist has placed in his hands a new instrument for the uncovering of human motives.

It cannot be said that in its study of primitive society, sociology has been unmindful of the importance of dream life. The science, however, while studying dreams of primitive folk, has never had so definite an idea of the meaning of the dream as Freud teaches, and, of course, has not treated the dream content as seriously as Freud does. The value that the Freudian hypothesis regarding the dream may have for the sociologist is illustrated vividly by the significance that the study of primitive myths and folkways has come to have for Freud in throwing light upon the problem of dream interpretation in the treatment of nervous disorders.

A typical sociological recognition of the significance of primitive dream life is found in Leonard's *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*. "It is, as a rule, only in dreams, and not when a person is awake, that the souls of the departed appear to the living, for dreams occupy a very prominent place in the philosophy, the religion, and the life of these emotional people. Dream-land in fact—although it is, as it were, a land of shadows or spirits—is a veritable reality, and the figures of the dead which appear therein are looked on exclusively as souls, and in no sense as outside apparitions.

"Once more, in the words of Odinka Olisa, 'apart from what our fathers have told us, the way in which we believe in the existence of the soul or the spirit is mostly through dreams, those which are good and those which are bad, *i. e.*, nightmares. So we think that when a man is asleep, whether at night or in the day, his soul leaves the body and goes away and speaks, sometimes with the dead and sometimes with the living. So it is that on these occasions, or when a man projects his soul into the body of an animal, his own body remains altogether inactive and slothful, and as it is in a trance or during sleep, and it remains in this condition until the return of the soul.'"<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Coriat, *Meaning of Dreams*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>17</sup> Page 145.

Freud gives a new meaning to the primitive dream, for according to his theory it expresses a wish, and, as in the child's dream, expresses it simply. Freud writes: "The most simple dreams of all, I suppose, are to be expected in the case of children, whose psychic activities are certainly less complicated than those of adults. The psychology of children, in my opinion, is to be called upon for services similar to those which a study of the anatomy and development of the lower animals renders to the investigation of the structure of the highest classes of animals. Until now only a few conscious efforts have been made to take advantage of the psychology of children for such a purpose.

"The dreams of little children are simple fulfillments of wishes, and as compared, therefore, with the dreams of adults, are not at all interesting. They present no problem to be solved, but are naturally invaluable as affording proof that the dream in its essence signifies the fulfillment of a wish."<sup>18</sup>

Adults, even in the most highly civilized races, at times experience similar simple dreams and therefore can understand their character. These childlike dreams are most likely to come to adults who are experiencing unusual circumstances. Probably it is not uncommon for the adult suffering from a fever to dream of quenching his thirst with a quantity of cool drinks; at least such dreams are common in childhood. Freud gives some very interesting examples of simple adult dreams experienced as a result of unusual conditions of life taken from Otto Nordenskjöld's Antarctic. "'Very characteristic for the trend of our inmost thoughts were our dreams, which were never more vivid and numerous than at present, even those of our comrades with whom dreaming had formerly been an exception had long stories to tell in the morning when we exchanged our experiences in the world of phantasies.'"<sup>19</sup> Since the savage not infrequently suffers from lack of food it is especially significant to find Nordenskjöld writing: "Eating and drinking formed the central point around which most of our dreams were grouped. One of us, who was fond of going to big dinner parties at night, was exceedingly glad if he could report in the morning 'that he had had a dinner consisting of three courses.' Another dreamed of tobacco—of whole mountains of tobacco; still another dreamed of a ship approaching on the open sea under full sail."<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Freud (Brill tr.), *The Interpretation of Dreams*, p. 107.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.



A recent study of the simpler character of Negro dream life illustrates the childlike characteristics of the primitive dream. "The investigator of dream states in this country has at hand a race whose psychological activities are certainly less complex than those of the Caucasian and whose dreams therefore must be simpler in type. I refer, of course, to the American negro, and especially to the so-called pure blooded negro. . . . This being the case, it is to be expected that their dream life would enjoy a relative freedom from the endo-psychic censor, exactly as that of the child does."<sup>21</sup>

A few dreams, taken at random, from the collection are reported. "Dream No. 3. 'I dreamed several times I had money—five, ten or twenty dollars.' Patient adds voluntarily the statement, 'I wake up and find I don't have anything,' showing he recognized the wish-fulfillment himself. Further questioning reveals the fact that five dollars represents a large sum of money to him, and he has never had as much as ten dollars together at one time."<sup>22</sup> "Dream No. 8. 'I dreamed last night I was out drinking and playing music.' It develops that this negro plays the piano well by ear and his favorite amusement when at liberty is playing the piano for a cheap dance, receiving therefor a dollar or two and a few drinks."<sup>23</sup> The same author also writes regarding The Color Complex in the Negro and its expression in dream life. "In the case which I wish to discuss somewhat in detail, the most striking aspect of the delusional field has as its foundation a complex which is extremely common, one might almost say, universal in the negro. This complex is based upon the social subordination of the negro in the United States, and as the most obvious racial distinction serving to set him apart from the more favored race is his color, I shall refer to it hereafter for the sake of convenience as the 'color complex.' . . . I have observed in the dreams of negroes that frequently there will be presented some such dream picture as this, 'I saw my girl and she was white and talking to a lot of white people.' Or the dreamer finds himself in the company of white women or men who treat him as an equal. Usually in these instances, the dreamer adds the significant statement, 'I could not see what color I was myself.'"<sup>24</sup>

The relation between the experiences of primitive peoples and

<sup>21</sup> Lind, *The Dream as a Simple Wish-fulfilment in the Negro*, *THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. 1, p. 295.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 298.

<sup>24</sup> Lind, *The Color Complex in the Negro*, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol 1, pp. 404-405.



modern childhood is interestingly illustrated by a report of self-analysis undertaken by a patient of Dr. Jelliffe's and written out for publication. "Though my struggle with sexuality and the many phantasies in which it has expressed itself has been very real to my waking consciousness, so much has come to me in my dreams of further phantasies buried in the unconscious and the intricate relations of the many forms the phantasies take, that I can easily understand why dreams have had a great influence upon the beliefs and customs of savage races. With no knowledge whatever of the conscious and the unconscious, and no psychology of dreams to aid them, it is not strange that they have interpreted the fact of dreaming as a departure of the soul from the body in sleep or the visitation by a ghost who then communicates with the living, and that the visions of sleep, the phantasies and fulfillment of desires that the unconscious allows in these unguarded hours, should seem to them realities that the soul witnesses and experiences on its nocturnal journeys, or veritable reports of the life among the dead in the unknown spirit land. There exist the same desires, the same pleasures, the same difficulties, hindrances and misfortunes that are found upon earth but in unreal and distorted form. The dreams bring before them all the phantasies and desires of their own minds making them more vivid, sanctioning them, even making necessary the continuing and furthering of them in all their beliefs and ceremonies referring both to the living and the dead. Their practices are doubtless in large part the expression of these phantasies. . . . Now my dream life is a picture for me of these phantasies, which this examination and comparison have helped to strip of their false values and to put into their proper places; while the importance to these primitive races of their dreams, picturing their desires and fancies, again illuminates how strong a hold these phantasies have and what determining power all unconsciously upon the beliefs and practices of life."<sup>25</sup>

Primitive myths and fairy tales are given new significance by Freud's teaching which shows that these poetic creations have universal elements that give them permanent importance. In writing of wish-fulfillment and symbolism in fairy tales Riklin states: "Finally my work proves to me that the human psyche produces at all times and in all places suggestive and hypnotic phenomena, produces universally, just as general, for example, a symbolism, which is chiefly

<sup>25</sup> Jelliffe and Zenia X., *Compulsion Neurosis and Primitive Culture*, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. 1, pp. 385-386.

constructed from the unconscious and which is found in fairy tales as a primitive poetic production, and again in the dream and in psychopathology."<sup>26</sup>

The Freudians believe that the method of psychological analysis has made possible the real, hidden meaning of the myths,<sup>27</sup> showing their relationship to dreams, hysteria and mental disease.<sup>28</sup> The myths are inventions that have their source in the "directly utilized, immediately conceived experiences of the primitive soul" and the general human tendency to obtain wish-fulfillment. This general tendency is also found in modern fiction but not so naturally expressed. Freud in basing mythology upon a universal psychological tendency and in revealing unexpected meanings in certain myths and folk tales, is giving promise of a solution of the puzzle of mythology, "the silly, savage and senseless elements."<sup>29</sup> Certainly the Freudians appear to find in these ancient stories material of value for the interpreting of moral and mental struggles in their patients and to be building up a system of myth analysis which challenges the student of primitive sociology. Knowing the result of the myths upon the social life of primitive people, the sociologist cannot be indifferent to any new light that may be thrown upon the psychological origin and function of the myth. This is especially true because of the relation that there so often is between religion and the primitive myth,<sup>30</sup> and because of the fact that mythology both influences and is influenced by the social mind.<sup>31</sup>

The Freudian theory of reality has social significance. The unconscious is that part of the mental life that desires immediate pleasure and refuses to adapt itself to reality. In primitive life it expresses itself in magic and phantasies. This unwillingness to face reality, born of "the unconscious that can only wish" produces social inertia expressed in such forms as indolence, superstition, folkways, and ignorance. There is a continual conflict because the demands of reality are not met on account of an unwillingness to face the new and the untried. Fears hide wishes. The form the fear takes is symbolic. This symbolism is the result of the conflict between the pleasure-pain motives and the reality motives, between

<sup>26</sup> Riklin, *Wishfulfillment and Symbolism in Fairy Tales*, *PSYCHO-ANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. 1, p. 96.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>29</sup> *Britannica*, Vol. 19, p. 128.

<sup>30</sup> Dealey and Ward, *Text-book of Sociology*, p. 156.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 301.

the emotional and the intellectual nature of man.<sup>32</sup> Reality enjoys the advantages of grouping conscious elements with a sense of time and effect. Social progress depends upon the increase of reality thinking. "The principle of reality is essential when any effort is made to undermine or destroy by the power of criticism obsolete social institutions. Moreover, the results obtained through the principle of reality are not influenced by libidinous attachment or opposition. The principle of reality has found its greatest use in the methods of natural science, and the aim of scientific progress is to become independent of the principle of pain-pleasure and to find solutions for all personal and social problems by the employment only of the principle of reality."<sup>33</sup>

At present only those of great intellectual power attain a very high degree of the principle of reality. "The slight development of the principle of reality in people of comparatively small mental range is in my opinion responsible for the fact that differences in established rights exist between races, castes, and the sexes, even in countries with practical equality of laws for all individuals."<sup>34</sup>

Freud appreciates that his theory has social significance and for some time to come he expects opposition to his teaching from society. He says, "society will not hasten to furnish us authority. Society must remain in a state of resistance towards us because we assume a critical attitude toward her. We inform her that she herself plays a great part in the causation of the neuroses. Just as we make an enemy of the individual by uncovering his repressions, so society cannot meet us with a sympathetic reply when we regardlessly lay bare her infirmities and inadequacies. Because we destroy illusions we are reproached for endangering ideals."<sup>35</sup>

Freud expects his doctrine to meet the fate of other unpleasant social truths—opposition from the pain-pleasure tendencies and final acceptance when these unthinking tendencies have given way to the principle of reality. "As forcible as the interests and effects of humanity may be, there is still another force—the intellect. It does not gain authority in the beginning but is the more sure of it in the end. In the end the most cutting truths are heard and recognized especially after the injured interests and affects aroused by them have exhausted themselves. It was always so until now and the

<sup>32</sup> White, *The Unconscious*, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. 2, p. 24.

<sup>33</sup> Federn, *Pain-Pleasure and Reality*, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. 2, p. 11.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> *Selected Papers on Hysteria and Other Neuroses*, p. 212.

undesired truths which we psychoanalysts have to tell the world will meet the same fate, only it will not come so rapidly; we must be able to wait."<sup>86</sup>

In the individual this opposition to unpleasant ideas is expressed by the activity of the unconscious. This term, unconscious, means more than that elements of experience are not present in consciousness; it denotes a keeping of them out of consciousness at the expense of considerable energy. They are driven into the unconscious by repression and this involves conflict. The great creative energy, the libido of Jung, attempts to overcome its limitations and to free itself it must first conquer the inertia of lower desires. The energy that frees itself becomes "sublimated" or spiritualized. Each victory leads in new problems and in turn a new conflict begins. Progress, therefore, comes through conflict. The inertia and the limitations that force the conflict are largely social in origin, the result of group experience.<sup>87</sup>

Freud does not expect every human being to acknowledge the principle of reality; frankly he admits that some are safer and happier in their pain-pleasure defence. The large hope for humanity depends upon changes in civilization that will greatly remove the causes of the neurotic creations which attempt by phantasies to satisfy the deep human cravings. "Let us admit that this ideal prophylaxis of neurotic diseases will not benefit every individual. A great many of those who today are taking refuge in the disease will not be able to stand the test of the conditions of the conflict postulated by us; they will soon perish or do some mischief greater than their own neurotic disease. The neuroses really have their biological functions. They are protective measures and are justified socially. Their 'morbid gain' is not always purely subjective. Who among you has not looked behind the causation of a neurosis and was not forced to admit that the neurosis was the mildest issue of all the possibilities of the situation? And should we really sacrifice so much for the eradication of the neurosis, if the world is filled with other inevitable misery? Should we therefore give up our efforts to explain the secret meaning of the neurosis as being in the end dangerous for the individual and for the workings of society, and should we waive the right of drawing practical conclusions from a fragment of scientific knowledge? No. I believe

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp. 212-213.

<sup>87</sup> White, *The Unconscious*, PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW, January, 1915, pp. 16-17.

that notwithstanding all, our duty moves us to another direction. For the morbid gain of the neurosis is on the whole harmful for the individuals and for society. The misfortune that may result in consequence of our explanation work can surely only strike individuals. The return to a more truthful and more worthy state of society will not be too dearly bought at this sacrifice. But above all: all the energies which are now consumed in the production of neurotic symptoms in the service of a phantastic world isolated from reality, all these energies, even if they cannot contribute to the good of the world, will nevertheless help to reinforce the cry for that change in our civilization in which alone we see salvation for posterity."<sup>88</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Freud, *Selected Papers on Hysteria and Other Psychoneuroses*, p. 215.



## TECHNIQUE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

BY SMITH ELY JELLIFFE

*(Continued from page 175)*

A great deal might be said about signs of positive transference, but the analyst must always bear in mind the ambivalency of the unconscious as well as its egoism. A number of little indices may be recorded here. They are only suggestions.

There are literally thousands of apparently trivial things which show the internal workings of the patient's unconscious. Patients often come early. It usually indicates the positive side of the transference, just as persistent late coming points to the reverse. Sometimes the early coming is only a sign of extreme curiosity. It is frequent in the "little bird" type already discussed. Such patients often utilize the time spent in waiting to gain little impressions of the family-life, assuming one's office to be in one's own home. These they will utilize as resistance symbols in the further analysis. In the office the patients will often move their chair closer to the analyst's desk. They frequently will tap with their foot an object in contact with the chair or person of the analyst. They will pick up objects which he is apt to use, play with the blotters, or toy with the office scissors or paper cutter. These small signs must not be unobserved, nor must too much weight be given to them.

Patients will constantly leave things after the hour, sometimes to come back immediately or as a sign of positive transference. Handkerchiefs, gloves, purse, books, papers, overcoat, cane, umbrella, glasses, etc. The type of object left is at times of special moment.

It is worth while observing the dress of the patients, particularly of the woman. It is at times plainly indicative of positive transference and may be the first indication of too strong a transference, which can be controlled, with the aid of the dreams, and hence the more difficult phases of the situation outlined at the close of the last article avoided. It can also very easily point to negative transference and to resistances.

After working with some patients one may get very useful clues



from the facial musculature activities. It is a well-known generalization and probably a very valid one that, in the unconscious, left and right play a very large rôle. I have made careful notes of the emotional expression of the face as well as other bodily movements, such as rocking in the chair, drumming on the table or the arm of the chair, the movements of the hand to the face, the presence of scratching, of crossing the legs, folding the arms, crossing the fingers, etc. After continued observation one registers a group of habitual actions which soon become very readily interpreted. The facial innervation however is the richest field for observation of signs of transference and resistance.

With more than one patient it has soon become apparent that the drawing up of the right eyebrow, the pulling of the face around to the right, the looking to the right, etc., were domination impulses from the unconscious and were "*complex indicators*" intending to convey the idea of conflict and resistance. Similarly other movements indicate positive transference situations and acquiescence with the general trend of the analysis. It is highly desirable to watch the facial musculature particularly when one is dealing with the most difficult of cases, the paranoid forms of schizophrenia, and the cyclothymic excitements and depressions. In many males the latent homosexual conflicts are often exquisitely registered by the facial musculature. Only in late stages of analysis, as a rule, can these deeply rooted and very unconscious "*complex indicators*" be used. I am not now speaking of the large group of facial tics, compulsive in type, which constitute difficult problems of themselves.

It is well known by those who have studied Darwin's and Hughes' extensive observations on emotional expression how intrinsic these observations may be, and the practical man of the street is unconsciously in touch with his fellow man through these means, infinitely more than he imagines. This close scrutiny of these factors is largely what goes by the term intuition, particularly in woman, who unconsciously is always more on guard than the male by reason of her chiefly subordinate rôle in the present social scheme of things. Long letters, frequent telephone calls, getting other patients, much discussion of their physician, these again are transference phenomena.

This introduces us to a topic already spoken of but which needs reëmphasis. The advice not to talk about the analysis to other people is quite essential. I repeat it here since it must often be reiterated to the patient. This is largely because the patient unconsciously will unload a great deal upon the confidant or person

talked to, and comes to the analytic hour without a suggestion. On being asked, as it is usually the case that they are, What is uppermost in your mind to discuss? or What do you wish to talk about? or Are there any points to take up from the last analysis? such patients, who have been discussing analysis with their husbands or wives or friends, will answer, Nothing! In some subtle and unconscious way the important topics which will aid them to a valuable vision of the development of their conduct values have gone off in these side discussions. Hence the admonition to keep the discussion for the hour. This is particularly true in the early hours of the analysis. One should warn one's patients of course not to make any mystery of the situation. The rule is not one of the Medes and Persians and it can be broken, but on the whole it works better to have one's ammunition preserved for the psychoanalytic hour.

Certain resistance symbols also are classical. Coming late, as mentioned, is one. Delaying appointments and putting them off is another. The resistance is frequently converted into physical disabilities which make it difficult or impossible to keep the appointment. Dreams or other material written out are forgotten and left at home or are unaccountably mislaid or lost. Criticism or doubt of the physician appears not only in the dreams but is produced consciously in order to substitute an apparent distrust of his personal character, his sincerity of purpose or perhaps his financial uprightness in regard to the treatment for the unconscious unwillingness to acknowledge the sincerity and therefore the authority of psychoanalytic interpretation and the demands of its aim. Sometimes the finesse of the unconscious is extremely shrewd in manufacturing a host of little petty hindrances which successfully conceal the patient's resistances.

Another interesting type of resistance is the sudden cure. Stekel has called particular attention to this.<sup>1</sup> Another closely related type manifests a sincere doubt whether such fundamental treatment was best, whether it would not have been better after all to have remained at the level of compromise where the patient had had fair success before the analysis. Especially is this active with the typically doubting compulsive neurotic, particularly if his early religious training or his metaphysical convictions are interfered with.

Excessive or voluble speech in the hour, whereby the more im-

<sup>1</sup> Die Verschiedene Formen des Widerstandes in der Psychoanalyse, Centralblatt, IV, 1914, p. 610.

portant things may be hidden or swallowed up is a frequent form of resistance. This is particularly noteworthy with certain paranoid individuals who wish to go into a host of intricate theoretical discussions concerning the psychoanalytic doctrines. A profusion of dream material, either in the number or elaborate content of dreams, offers this same manner of resistance. The patient then would dissipate the analyst's attention upon all the dream material rather than have him center it intensively upon one dream or one point. These are only other illustrations of the school-day trick of getting the teacher to talk about something else and thus avoid questioning. It is often very ingeniously accomplished in psychoanalysis, and my experience has emphasized the fact that I have fallen down, and other analysts have also, on this very point. The analyst can too readily forget his quarry and go off on an exhibitionistic flight of his own. Especially when he attempts to tell of his analytic successes is this liable to happen.

Some patients are full of the small details of the day. They elaborate them by the hour. These are resistance symbols usually. Others are those of elaboration of scientific or artistic theories. Interesting enough in themselves, and often recounted or dwelt upon for professed analytic purposes, they nevertheless not infrequently hide unconscious material.

A not infrequent unconscious ruse on the part of the patient and one to which the beginning analyst is particularly prone to fall, and sometimes it is not a fall, is the attitude frequently urged that because of the uniqueness or the extreme rarity or complexity of the patient's individual situation the analyst cannot possibly comprehend. He is inexperienced in this or that particular. He has not the same temptations or the same surroundings. The patient unconsciously plays for intimate knowledge of the analyst's own difficulties. This is very clearly brought out by many patients, particularly the "little bird" type. This inquisitiveness and curiosity leads them to create family situations. They may remark how the maid at the door has been rather brusque with them that morning; or they notice that there is a little careless dusting in the waiting room, or they inquire concerning the arranging of the books on the reading table, complimenting, by inference, the wife or some other member of the household. All this is frequently an invitation of one kind or another to get into a more intimate state of rapport. It is good technique to keep very quiet about one's self, to allow as little as possible of one's own surroundings to enter into any ana-

lytical situation. Occasionally the analyst is tempted to show, from his own dreams or situation, that he himself has had these conflicts, has made mistakes, has defects, and by entering into greater intimacy overcome some of the patient's resistances. Mutual trustworthiness is looked for, and Freud has well said:<sup>2</sup> "Where one seeks confidences one must be willing to show them." In some cases this may be desirable, but in my own experience it has nearly always proved costly. I have frequently to labor hard to regain ground lost. In general it is dangerous and one really gains nothing, since much more essential resistances develop to appear later and these tend to hold the whole procedure in abeyance. I think sooner or later I have regretted every personal confidence given. It is particularly in the unloosing of the transference that this technical error shows up to the greatest disadvantage. Freud calls attention to this in several of his papers, and points out how for some patients the analysis of the analyst becomes more interesting than their own. I have met with this in several cases. One hystero-paranoid type of patient was a marvel of ingenuity in her endeavor to get all of the small details of my home life and wherever she caught me napping I later suffered for my—even the slightest—indiscretion.

The ideal situation is to stick to the unconscious of the patients and simply reflect back to them what their unconscious shows. They must get to the point of faith in their own productions and be able to read themselves in the mirror that the analyst constantly keeps before them, as inscrutable as possible, and yet human.

In institutions where analytic therapy is used "it is not a serious fault, possibly, to admit some suggestive therapy admixture, but there should be no doubt in the mind of the physician that he is not practising psychoanalysis when he utilizes suggestive therapy."<sup>3</sup>

Very frequently the patients will seek instruction from the analyst. They will bring their troubles and their cares, their disappointments, discontents, problems, dilemmas, jealousies and misunderstandings. They will wish to talk of them and expect advice or suggestion as to their solution. In the handling of this particular type of situation psychoanalysis occupies an entirely different rôle than most other types of psychotherapy. I can refer the analyst to a thorough study of this handling of the actual conflicts of the

<sup>2</sup> Ratschlage für den Arzt b. d. psychoanalytische Behandlung, Centralblatt, II, p. 487.

<sup>3</sup> Freud, l. c.

patient in a paper by Jones which is important.<sup>4</sup> The most successful mode of approach to this problem is to direct the patients' attention exclusively to the causes of their conflicts, not to advise how to handle them but to get the patients to comprehend how they arise. If the analyst gets into the exclusive rôle of the teacher and the adviser, his psychoanalysis is practically at an end and the patient will not have to have his resistances analyzed and will go on with his neurosis. The advantages of the psychoanalytic mode of approach are evident, as Jones points out. In the first place one is unable to point out the solution of a conflict until it has been analyzed. Either the patient already knows what he has to do, but is not in possession of the reasons why he is unable to do it, or he does not know at all what is the best solution of the problem. Possibly the physician can guess a correct solution of the conflict and give good advice, but what about the patient when a slight variant turns up? The position of a student who uses a pony with his translations is thus reproduced. He is unable to dig the thing out for himself and is helpless in a test. So it is with the patient who is advised what to do, and this constant seeking for advice is one of the most insistent cries that goes up day by day with neurotic patients. What am I to do? they ask. Give me something practical, they say, and the reply "Know thyself" is hard for the analyst to stick to.

While upon the subject of resistances, for the sake of completeness I would call the student's attention to a paper by Reik on the subject of Resistances.<sup>5</sup>

Whoever has followed attentively the publication of the first analyses of hysteria,<sup>6</sup> from which psychoanalysis dates its existence, cannot overlook the significance of defense symptoms in the course of treatment. The theory of the resistance (and of the transference) which was developed from the observation of those signs of defense, showed itself even more clearly as one of the fundamentally recognized principles of psychoanalysis, and Freud first briefly

<sup>4</sup>Die Stellungnahme des psychoanalytischen Arztes zu den aktuellen Konflikten, Zeitschrift, II, p. 6, 1914.

<sup>5</sup>Einige Bemerkungen zur Lehre vom Widerstande, Zeitschrift, III, 1, p. 12, 1915.

<sup>6</sup>Freud's Hysteria Analyses. A complete hysteria analysis is lacking in the English language. The editors of the Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series propose to remedy this defect by publishing the full analyses of Freud's most important cases, for the translation of which they are indebted to Dr. A. A. Brill.



stated<sup>7</sup> that this motive over and above the special results of the analytic work, has for him "remained decisive for his conviction concerning the etiology of the neuroses."

This factor of the resistance has received relatively little attention in psychoanalytic literature thus far, notwithstanding its great significance theoretically and practically. The following up of the rôle of the resistance during the course of treatment in addition to the symptom and dream analysis escapes a separate presentation, as every one will recognize who knows how many difficulties offer themselves in the description of a single completed analysis. The resistance drags itself through the analysis like a red strand as difficult to be separated from the whole structure as such a strand from a transatlantic cable.

The answer to the question how the resistance manifests itself may be read in all those obstacles which oppose themselves to the restoration of the patient's health and efficiency. This statement needs some qualification. For among the hindrances against reaching the goal mentioned there are also external ones, such as social and pecuniary circumstances, certain family relationships, definite conditions of external life. There is greater danger of overvaluing than undervaluing the significance of such circumstances alterable as they are only with difficulty, though they must not be overlooked.

The physician, to whom the patient complains of these circumstances, must for their valuation keep the following in view: 1. The fact that much distress, which at first sight seems undeserved, was brought about by the patient's unconscious wish, or at least its breaking forth was not prevented, although that was possible objectively considered. It must not be forgotten that the patient who finds himself in such a position would unconsciously divert the physician's attention from the true cause of the illness and on that account represents as its fundamental *cause* what is in fact the *result* of his neurosis. The patient, who goes on living under these conditions, will often maintain the neurosis for the sake of a secondary advantage obtained from the illness, for an unconsciously voluntarily invoked possibility. Reik gives an example. One finds no opportunity to earn money, although he seeks it with apparent energy and suffers much from an oppressive poverty. It must be accepted in this case—not always of course, but frequently—that the individual concerned unconsciously overlooks many opportunities, indeed that he

<sup>7</sup> Zur Geschichte der psychoanalytischen Bewegung, Jahrbuch der Psychoanalyse, 1914, p. 5 f. Translation to be published in PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW.



himself even with unconscious purpose spoils many opportunities. If one looks for the motive of such amazing behavior, one comes frequently upon the tendency towards self-chastisement, which flourishes upon an unconscious sense of guilt. It may be said that the over-valuation of such external conditions parallels the pre-psychoanalytic over-valuation of hereditary causes.

2. The psychoanalyst will cherish the expectation that the accomplishment of the analysis will clear away a large portion of these obstacles. The physician will without directly interfering by counsel or act in the circumstances under consideration patiently watch the time draw near when the patient, freed from his inner hindrances, himself takes the initiative and with insight and energy once more at his command brings about those changes which appear to him desirable.

3. The physician, to be sure, stands powerless before a portion of the external difficulties, objectively considered, yet he may console himself with the knowledge that their removal lies only in the sphere of influence of a higher instance, all-powerful fate.

Manifestations of resistance are to be found in all those obstacles which the patient opposes to his recovery. Attention has been directed to the most prominent difficulties of this sort, lack of associations, forgetting, and the like. The opposites, also, love of gossip and loquacity, as resistance symptoms, belong again to the question of the selection and censorship of associations. The physician, who at the beginning of the treatment bids the patient as the first and special condition of the psychoanalytic relationship, to tell everything and to allow no censor control of his associations, knows in advance that this condition will not be fulfilled by the patient. For rather the degree of departure from this ideal relationship becomes for the physician a sign of the greatness of the resistance. Over against the failure of associations stands oftentimes an excess of freely offered outspoken thought which would, like the first, lead the physician astray. The psychoanalyst must not allow himself to be taken thus unawares. He will suspect that such a wealth of association has the same purpose, to hide from him and keep from him just that which perhaps is necessary to the releasing of a symptom. He understands this just as he did the want of associations, which he knew served a purpose, representing the rising up of the resistance against painful confessions. The structure of the thought material in this case may be compared perhaps to a wide-meshed net, through whose interstices the most valuable slips away. In many cases it can

be ascertained that the patient had the day before or the same day made note of a great number of incidents in order to relate them to the physician. The latter will not overlook the fact, however, that such gifts spread out upon a tray seldom bring that which one had desired. Generosity on the one side merely hides niggardliness on the other. Where such eloquence has already appeared as a resistance symptom an unconscious motivation may with great probability be suspected behind such a readiness, that it to say, the wish to defy the physician to drag on the analysis. Indeed it is plain that there lies often in such a state of things an unconscious ridicule of the physician, the infantile character of which becomes clearer, if one thinks of the grotesque tales of children which they relate to their parents in regard to the ostensible origin of children and in which the ridicule of the stork fable and the persons concerned in it manifests itself. The unconscious homosexual is particularly prone to this feature of the ridicule of the physician through his gossip and free discussion of small scandals.

Form, intensity, as well as the point of time when the resistance enters in the course of treatment Reik points out, vary so much that a classification of patients on this basis suggests itself. It may be observed, for example, that a bitter and persistent resistance appears later with just those patients with whom the transference was established quickly and easily and who apparently manifested no symptoms of resistance, while most cases where intense resistances toward the physician allow at first sight a limited outlook permit a favorable prognosis. One should begin to mistrust when "all goes smoothly" in psychoanalysis, when no resistances of any sort manifest themselves. One must be suspicious likewise of all those modifications of analysis which may boast of having diminished the resistances or set them aside. Psychoanalysis may be compared to the work of a machine, for the efficiency of which the presence of friction is an indispensable condition.

Reik calls attention to more or less direct manifestations of resistance such as outbreaks of anger against the physician or a third person. The passage from one form of resistance over into another may be observed daily in the analysis. It happens indeed that the form of the resistance changes with the taking over of a patient into the treatment of another physician, a practice principally to be avoided. Thus a patient displayed his resistance against the physician who was treating him in continually complaining that the doctor and his method did not interest him, that what he said was a matter

of indifference and wearisome. He, the patient, stood toward him with a feeling of distant respect which frequently passed over into a feeling of superiority. After a visit on one occasion to the consultation room of another psychoanalyst the resistance prepared for itself an elementary path in which the patient characterized this second physician immediately on leaving his house, as a "disgusting Jew" and complained of his so-called hardness and heartlessness.

Concealed forms of resistance phenomena are however the more frequent. Thus Abraham reports a patient whose resistances had created a very interesting esthetic mask. The patient evinced frequently during the hours of analysis a strong displeasure in the objects in the consultation room. He found this piece of furniture out of place, that arrangement in poor taste and so on. Naturally the form and content of this, as of all resistances, is psychically determined and over-determined and an indicator to the analyst. The whole sum of the neurotic resistance is learned first of course through dream and symptom analysis; in these creations frequently there hides a flood of most malicious wishes and insults directed against the physician. This illustration of Abraham I have had repeated over and over again with my books, my rugs, my ornaments, my clothing, etc. One patient hides a frightful snobbery clothing complex behind a criticism of my clothes. Other infantile superiority motives are the rule in resistance situations.

Just as Abraham's patient found an opportunity for directing his resistance toward the physician in an exasperated criticism of the arrangement of his house, and others in the manner just mentioned, so also it happens that the resistances find their objects in the relatives and acquaintances of the physician. The parallel to the relation of primitive people thrusts itself forward here, as Reik emphasizes. The savage who wishes to injure some one possesses himself perhaps of a bit of property of the person under consideration and believes that through the medium of this object he will also have power over its owner (contagious magic).<sup>\*</sup> If the savage believes himself injured or wronged the law of tribal revenge comes into play, to which not only the person who committed the deed but his relatives and friends as well must submit. The criticism of the physician's furniture and the ill-will toward his relatives is analogous to this state of things. Reik speaks of a patient where the dissatisfaction of the patient with his physician was manifested in this fashion, that he began the hour of analysis with railing against the incivility and

<sup>\*</sup> See *Compulsion Neurosis and Primitive Culture* by Zenia, X., and S. E. Jelliffe, *PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW*, Vol. I, No. 4.

stupidity of the maid servant. One difficult patient of mine always revealed his resistances by ringing the front door bell two and even three times in quick succession while waiting to be let in. His "Jehovah complex" admitted of no delay in letting so important a person in the house. I was never quite able to show his hatred—resistance—through this apparently trivial incident. Yet it was apparent in every detail of a busy and, commercially speaking, successful life. He had a very bankrupt soul, however.

Rank also emphasizes the analogous variations of the means of transference, such as great interest on the part of the patient in the members of the physician's family, inclination toward them and great respect, behind which often, especially with female patients, lurk unconscious death wishes. Reference must repeatedly be made to the fact that the patient creates for himself in his relations with the physician a return of infantile situations. The infantile *Œdipus* situation is thus completely reestablished—just as the physician appears as the revival of the father, so his wife is often the mother—when a strong love toward the wife or the daughter, whom the patient has perhaps never seen, joins itself to the neurotic's resistance against the physician. Moreover strong feelings of jealousy against the physician's sons may be looked upon as a return of childish impulses, brother jealousy. In one of Reik's cases the patient complained with strong affect of the behavior of another patient quite unknown to him, whom he had met in the physician's waiting room. This analysis revealed that behind these complaints were hidden reproaches against the physician, who seemed to give preference to the other patient as once the father had favored the brothers of the later neurotic patient. It often becomes clear in the analysis with what the resistance, which announces itself in the lack of associations or in the repression of their disclosure, concerns itself. There are at work besides the shrinking from the confession of unpleasant things and those which would wound the ego of the patient, definite hostile impulses against the physician. In certain cases the increasing silence in the analysis signifies directly the unconscious self-punishment for evil wishes against the physician. A very intellectual woman, suffering from a compulsive neurosis, once offered the information spontaneously that her becoming speechless really represented how she died.

In an earlier number of this series I spoke of the free patient in psychoanalysis. Reik also discusses it in the paper just referred to. He regards it as deserving a special chapter. The refusal of the

free treatment which Freud recommends<sup>9</sup> on principle rests also on this, that the free treatment under certain conditions produces a special heightening of the resistances. Gratitude prevents the patient from manifesting his resistances in the same form and with the same intensity as the other patients. The location of the resistance must then be sought out with difficulty by the physician and discovered. He meets then among other things the haughtiness of the young man who will allow so very little to be given him by the physician, as once by his father, and also the distrust toward the physician, which reveals itself in the anxiety that he will not be treated by him with the same care as other patients blessed with this world's goods.

Reik gives examples which may be duplicated in any psychoanalytic treatment. The physician is prevented some time from keeping the hour for analysis and writes to the patient to break the appointment. The next interview brings surprisingly great resistances not justified by the things which are discussed. The patient has understood the breaking of the engagement as a sign of unconscious depreciation and brings it into connection with the free treatment. His narcissism takes the occurrence as a humiliation and to this actual disturbance is to be ascribed the increase of resistances. Naturally the feeling of shamed love (unconscious homosexual) contributes essentially to this effect.

Reik speaks of one form of resistance phenomena. This is the "proofs" by which the patient will convince himself of the reality of psychoanalysis. Many patients after a significant explanation on the part of the physician immediately make proof of an example as it happened to that patient in Freud's "The Interpretation of Dreams" who reacted to the information given as to the theory of the general wish-fulfilling tendency with a negative wish dream. As an example we may suppose that the patient has just discovered a bit of the motivation of his chief symptom, psychic impotence. He hastens now to find the opportunity for sexual intercourse and suffers failure at coitus. He has through this merely given expression to his unconscious resistance against that explanation, to which he perhaps some hours before had heartily agreed and which he consciously received almost as his salvation. On the other hand the more favorable case may be adduced. Coitus succeeds and the full capacity for satisfaction is this time again established. There must then be considered a transference result, which the first disturbance of transference again destroys.

<sup>9</sup> Weitere Ratschläge zur Technik der Psychoanalyse, Internationale Zeitschrift für ärztliche Psychoanalyse, 1913, Heft 1, S. 8 f.



E. Jones<sup>10</sup> has said all that is essential concerning the mistakes which the psychoanalyst would commit if he interfered in the actual conflicts of the patient through advice; for example: It might be taken for granted that the advice of the physician would be suited to solve an actual conflict, yet the wished-for result might not appear. Then the patient's resistances will again appear in the unconscious; he will perhaps meet with some misfortune in the carrying out of the advice, he will keep strictly to the letter of the advice and miss its intention or unconsciously perhaps he will prefer some modification, which complies with his secret wishes. The failure in outcome will then be utilized for the increase of the resistances while the blame will all be laid upon the physician. Often, moreover, a tertiary advantage enters in for the illness just through such giving of advice, for the transference becomes permanent, the patient will no more dispense with dependence upon the physician and remains sick in order to justify this relationship.

Then the phenomenon, well-known to psychoanalysis, of the "haughty obedience" comes to light. The patient slavishly follows the instruction of the physician but expects him to uphold, it may be, the manner of life created by the advice. Reik speaks of certain patients who behave in their "passive resistance" just as do the German railway officials. There exists in the regulation of the German as well as of other railways a number of instructions and commands, the invariable carrying out of which into practice would paralyze all traffic. There is therefore a tacit agreement between higher officials and subordinates to overlook these orders at times and to keep traffic going according to other more practical rules. If now the railway officials and workmen have cause for dissatisfaction with their wages, hours of duty, etc., they adopt a "passive resistance," that is, they maintain a strict adherence to the instructions of the rules in their work and bring about, through this grotesquely unjust kind of officially demanded strike, serious disturbances in the regular traffic, even not infrequently a complete standstill.

The last—often very difficult to overcome—resistance in the treatment is the final doing away with the transference. The patient strives by all means of defiance, yes, of hatred, against turning his love away from the physician and placing it upon others.

I must not neglect this opportunity to emphasize an important motive to which Reik also refers. An actual obstacle to the setting up of the transference may present itself according to the manner in which the psychoanalyst takes note of the neurotic's complaints.

<sup>10</sup> L. c.



In Reik's own words: "Suppose that a nervously sick woman comes to a neurologist and complains that she is pursued by a compulsive thought, that she must poison the husband she tenderly loves. The conflict which this temptation toward feelings directed against her husband arouses, causes her constant suffering. What attitude would most neurologists take to such a case, a by no means rare one? They will listen to her tale with grave shakings of the head, and then attempt to talk the poor woman—supposedly she has shown herself mentally sound otherwise—out of her compulsive idea, while they would perhaps say: "But that is nonsense. Dismiss it from your mind. Try with all your might not to think of these things. Find distractions, go to the theater, to concerts, travel, and the like.'"<sup>11</sup>

It needs only to be mentioned, through a reference to the impossibility of dismissing it from the mind, how such a therapy ridicules itself, and does not understand how. The psychoanalyst who has listened to the patient's complaint will express himself something like this: "Now, that is very interesting. Tell me, please, when this idea first appeared to you, in what connection, and so on." In a word, he will not shove the compulsive idea to one side as unpleasant and senseless, but take it for granted, on the contrary, that a definite meaning belongs to it in the patient's mental life, that it has some connection with her experiences, wishes and conflicts and that the problem will be to ascertain the psychic motivation and the latent meaning of the idea.

The comparison of the psychotherapeutic effectiveness of the two methods is not now under discussion, hence for the moment the stress will only be laid upon the effect upon the patient herself of the taking up of what she has imparted. While the telling of her idea heretofore has always met with a depreciation of it, at the very least with an ironic or slight smile on the part of the physician, on the part of the psychoanalyst she finds understanding as he accepts the idea quite earnestly, believes in its meaning and its significance and occupies himself with its origin and development. Here, however, with this serious acceptance, the first actual possibility of the transference arises. The patient is wounded in her narcissism through the slighting or depreciation of her idea, yet the attention which the psychoanalyst bestows upon all her manifestations and symptoms, even the

<sup>11</sup> Other methods will direct their measures to this end, that the idea be recognized as completely foolish. It may be desired to set it aside by hypnosis and Dubois would not leave out the ethical stimulus and strengthening of self-confidence.

most absurd and bizarre, works beneficially although it flatters her self love. It must not be forgotten that patients can consciously observe and curse their ideas and symptoms as foreign to them or comprehend them unconsciously as products of their own personalities and care for them perhaps with the love with which a mother devotes herself to a crippled child. The neglect or the depreciation of a symptom or anything brought by the patient, which perhaps announces itself in the relinquishing of the usual amount of attention, would therefore mean a two-fold technical error on the part of the physician. The result would be not only a loss of psychological knowledge but also an increase of resistance due to the wounding of the patient's narcissism. This neurotic narcissism shows itself in a certain valuation of the patient's own illness, by which he grants to his own illness an exalted position, will not see the typical character of his neurosis in connection with other cases, but considers his as a distinctive special case which demands increased attention.

A factor of the greatest importance and one that is well known to all physicians who practice analysis concerns itself with the analyst's own negative transferences. I have made special note of these as illustrated in the persons assisting me in psychoanalytic work. It is remarkable how in the course of an analysis one hears of the "difficult" patient. The use of such a concept usually means an opposing force on the part of the analyst. It is only all too deeply grounded in the human soul as Reik well says, that a feeling of impatience and anger takes possession of the physician especially at that point when the severe resistances rouse themselves against him. The danger is particularly at hand when the treatment through the intensive resistance of the patient has reached a "dead lock," that the feeling of dissatisfaction over the temporary standstill and over the obstinacy of the patient strengthens itself even to a negative resistance, which manifests itself in a withdrawal of interest in the patient or even produces a change in the manner of treatment. The consequences of the existence of such a negative resistance upon the progress of the analysis would naturally be most unfavorable.

Freud tells us through what psychic mechanisms resistances arise. It might be pointed out on what basis they rear themselves and to what instinctive impulses they owe their strength. Reik speaks of three chief components that work together to constitute the resistance; narcissistic, hostile and closely bound with them, homosexual currents and anal erotic tendencies.

1. The beginning analyst will soon commence to appreciate the

significance of the narcissistic attitude and its disturbances for the question of the resistance. A partial derivation of the resistance from narcissism becomes clearer when the inner relation between repression and resistance is understood. Primary narcissism contributes to the ideal ego structure. This becomes the condition of the repression on the part of the ego.<sup>12</sup> Through analysis, however, the comparison between the actual and the ideal, always present in the unconscious, is transplanted to the soil of the conscious. The conflict between the tendencies directed toward and against the ego is again, under changed circumstances, taken up, whereas before through the compromise formation of the neurosis it had come to a truce, which was however repeatedly disturbed. The physician becomes to the patient the unconscious incarnation of that censor which is in conscious phraseology called "conscience." This deduction can also be supported genetically, since conscience is primarily based on parental criticism and guidance and the physician comes to be for the patient the revival of the authority—father or what not. The patient naturally strives against the constant comparison between the actual and the real, to the conscious carrying out of which the analysis compels him, while it shows him how his conscious intentions and deeds measured to the ego ideal are continually disturbed through the unconscious events belonging to his actual ego.

Those numerous cases of neurosis in which the "castration complex" appears in the pathogenesis, hold a special position. The resistance of the patient assumes a character as if the physician represented the father in his part as sexual meddler and intimidator. This fear may find support in the unconscious memory of the father's threat of castration for infantile over-interest in the child's own member. If one follows further the castration anxiety directed toward the physician, forbidden (for example, incestuous) wishes come regularly to light. The child has unconsciously incorporated the characteristics of the father in his ideal ego in so far as the comparison of the child oppressed by his dark instinctive forces with the father offers an obstacle to the formation of his ego ideal. So the physician as the father representative (social necessity, etc.) comes to be the external ego ideal. A great part of the transference situation must find its explanation here. The resistance, considered from this point of view, may be described as the striving against the discharge of homosexual libido values.

## 2. Hostile currents against the physician in the form of resistance

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Freud, *Zur Einführung des Narzismus*, Jahrgänge der Psychoanalyse, 1914, p. 17 f.

are conditioned through the revival of those feelings once belonging to the father. The typical attitude of the individual toward the father however is ambivalent, so the hostile tendency has continually to strive with the tender one, the unconscious continuance of which produces homosexual feelings. The intensity of the hostile feelings directed against the physician is reactively strengthened through the defense on the side of his own homosexual onset of libido. The resistance presupposes also properly a portion of the result of that psychic mechanism, which Freud's analysis uncovered especially in the paranoic forms of disease,<sup>13</sup> the reaction to the endopsychic perception of one's own homosexual tendencies. Resistances here therefore become defense measures which arise from the fear of temptation. Their purpose is to assure the male patient against his homosexual, the female patient against her own heterosexual impulses.

The fact that the resistance grows in more than one point directly out of the transference and its psychic resulting phenomena has been stressed again and again. Reik also speaks of it. Thus, he says, the patient seeks, after an extensive transference has been set up, to win the unconsciously loved physician to himself, he will impress him, show him his best side. The analysis hinders him in this, because it compels him to confess just those things through which, according to his opinion, he will fall in the estimation of the physician. Resistances, as they manifest themselves perhaps in suppressing of incidents, may often be interpreted definitely as signs of homosexual and narcissistic tendencies of the libido. The relationship of this to consciousness of guilt can be easily established, thanks to Freud's explanations:<sup>14</sup> The want of satisfaction through the non-fulfilment of the narcissistic ego ideal frees homosexual libido, which is changed into consciousness of guilt. "The consciousness of guilt was originally fear of the parental punishment, more correctly of the love desire associated with the parents . . ." [Freud]. The neurotic shows in the form of resistance we have described regressively this psychogenesis of the consciousness of guilt, since he is unconsciously afraid that his confessions may have as a result with the physician the desire for love.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Freud, *Psychoanalytische Bemerkungen über ein autobiographisch beschriebenen Fall von Paranoia (Dementia Paranoides)*, *Kleine Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, 3 Folge, p. 251 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Zur Einführung des Narzismus*, p. 24.

<sup>15</sup> The state of affairs with a compulsive neurotic patient of Freud furnishes a beautiful example of a resistance conditioned thus. Cf. Freud, *Bemerkungen über ein Fall von Zwangsneurose*, *Kleine Schriften zur Neurosenlehre*, 3 Folge, p. 159.

3. The third feature to which Reik calls attention, and only touches upon, concerns residual phenomena, regressive revivals or reaction formations of the infantile anal erotic. Freud<sup>16</sup> and Jones<sup>17</sup> have vigorously drawn attention to the inner connection of anal erotic and hostile impulses. It seems that a certain relationship exists between the neurotic restraining and repressing of affect and the infantile pleasure in retaining the excrement.

Reik attempts to define the special form of this relationship and the finer mechanisms which bring these two processes together. It seems to him certain that those two characteristics, which Freud has noted as constantly bound with the anal erotic character,<sup>18</sup> avarice and obstinacy (as intensifications of frugality and self-will), must claim a place in the structure of resistance symptoms. Whoever has once carried through an analysis will have met during its course with those neurotic manifestations of obstinacy and had opportunity to observe the stinginess of the psychoneurotic in the form of a resistance to giving out the unconscious material.

The patient revives regressively in his resistance his strife against every person of his childhood who compelled him to renunciation of pleasure in infantile sexual activities and phantasies. Thus the analysis becomes a condensed recapitulation of the living through of those important inner conflicts which the patient would escape through flight into his illness.

It has frequently been noted that the neurotic resistance phenomena like other neurotic symptoms are fitted for the character of a compromise, as Reik happily illustrates. "In the production of their symptoms and of the resistances directed against their removal it happens to those who are neurotic just as with the hero of one of the unjustly forgotten parodies of Nestroy. His tenderly loved one had once sent a beautiful walking stick as a gift to the young dreamer. The fickle maiden became untrue to him, and the poor fellow, crushed by this fate, wandered through the country as a destitute musician. Still as an aging, embittered man he always carried his staff along with him. Asked once what was the reason for this he answered: "I carry this stick in order to keep forever in mind a person whom I wish never more to remember."

<sup>16</sup> Die Disposition zur Zwangsneurose, Internationale Zeitschrift f. ärztl. Psychoanalyse, 1913, Heft 6.

<sup>17</sup> Hass und Analerotik in der Zwangsneurose, Int. Zeitschr. f. ärztl. Psychoanalyse, 1913, Heft 5.

<sup>18</sup> Charakter und Analerotik, Kleine Schriften zur Neurosenlehre, 2 Folge, p. 132 f.

(To be continued)



## THE ONTOGENETIC AGAINST THE PHYLOGENETIC ELEMENTS IN THE PSYCHOSES OF THE COLORED RACE

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Crile, in his "Origin and Nature of the Emotions," has given to psychology a new definition, saying that "it becomes a science of man's activities as determined by the environmental stimuli of his phylogeny and of his ontogeny." In developing this he said "if the full history of the species and of the individual could be known in every detail, then every detail of that individual's conduct in health and disease could be predicted. Reaction to environment is the basis of conduct, of moral standards, of manners and conventions, of work and play, of love and hate, of protection and murder, of governing and being governed, in fact of all the reactions between human beings—of the entire web of life." This reaction, however, is not determined solely by the experiences of the individual's own few years, but by the wonderful amount of memories which have been stored in his unconscious through the slow evolution of his race. Having drunk deep of the river of Lethe, of these he has no conscious memory, but they make sure and firm foundations on which to build a new personality, as each coral animal builds on the reef of his ancestors. The influence of the race history permeates all thoughts and acts of the individual and yet he knows it not. For instance, many of the games of childhood are direct survivals of religious ritual of the childhood of the race, and their yearly cycle has a much deeper meaning than the whim of the little ones. Swinging<sup>1</sup> was part of the magic ceremonies performed every spring to ensure a tall and luxuriant growth of the crops. Jumping rope had very much the same origin. Rolling a hoop has remained from the Midsummer<sup>2</sup> custom of rolling a wheel covered with blazing straw among the vineyards and fields to frighten away the evil

<sup>1</sup> J. G. Frazer. *The Dying God*, Vol. IV of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 150, 156, 277.

<sup>2</sup> J. G. Frazer. *Balder the Beautiful*, Part I, Vol X of the *Golden Bough*, pp. 163, 201, 334, 337.

spirits which might otherwise prevent the fruit from maturing. The well-known Hallowe'en<sup>3</sup> fun is almost exactly what our ancestors practiced in sober earnest to outwit the mischievous spirits who were always ready to harm man, or to extort from them a forecast of the future.

In studying the mechanisms of those mentally deranged, we have learned to recognize and appreciate the constant outcrop of the phylogenetic memories<sup>4</sup> in their words and actions. These are but broken fragments of the primitive life, isolated peaks, as it were, standing above the smooth sea of ordinary life and convention enveloping the rugged mountains built of the age-long life of humanity. They are characterized by an apparent absurdity, a general uselessness judged by ordinary standards, a great disconnection among themselves, a general atmosphere of being out of joint with the times, and an inability on the part of the patient to give any adequate explanation of them. One patient, who is primarily defective, invariably calls her grandparents "Mr. and Mrs." She could only explain this by saying she thought it was best. However, this is an expression in this individual of that particular "brain pattern"<sup>5</sup> of phylogenetic origin from the powerful taboo<sup>6</sup> upon pronouncing the name of a deceased ancestor.

Another patient, a catatonic præcox, refused to eat for some time. She said that food represented the blood of her relatives and she did not need it. When she recovered she could not tell where she got "such a crazy notion." But we know that when the world was young the blood<sup>7</sup> of strong or powerful individuals was allowed to drip (a) over the sick to restore them to health; (b) over

<sup>3</sup> J. G. Frazer. *Balder the Beautiful*, Part I, Vol X of the *Golden Bough*, pp. 224 to 246 inclusive.

<sup>4</sup> William A. White. *Psychoanalytic Parallels*, THE PSYCHOANALYTIC REVIEW, April, 1915.

<sup>5</sup> Crile, l. c.

<sup>6</sup> J. G. Frazer. *Taboo and Perils of the Soul*, Vol. III of *The Golden Bough*, p. 335 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> (a) J. G. Frazer. *Taboo and Perils of the Soul*, Vol. III of the *Golden Bough*, p. 244.

(b) J. G. Frazer. *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, Part I, Vol. VII of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 244, 251.

(c) J. G. Frazer. *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, Part II, Vol. VIII of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 148, 152.

(d) J. G. Frazer. *Taboo and Perils of the Soul*, Vol. III of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 104, 115, 219.

(e) J. G. Frazer. *The Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Part I, Vol. I, of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 90, 101.

the ground to insure fertility. It was drunk (*c*) by the leaders of the tribe to give them the courage and ability of their predecessors. It was used in rites of purification (*d*), and of burial (*e*). Its power was most wonderful and its use was widespread. This patient's thought was but a symbolic expression of her very great need of help from sources outside of herself.

Another patient, a dementia præcox, who was quite deteriorated, took her nurse into a room with her and said very earnestly "Now you must come in here and go to bed and get well. Then when you are well we will all be well." When asked how this could be done, she could only look in astonishment at her questioner and say in perfect faith "Why, because it is so." She had regressed far, far back to the era of imitative<sup>8</sup> magic, when the medicine man cured (?) the sick by exercising his spells and enchantments upon a different person, it being perfectly evident to the savage mind that if the evil spirits could only be compelled to leave one body they would carry with them in high dudgeon their fellows who were harassing the real sufferer. Such confidences are very frequent from the white patients, these instances being very fair examples of what is meant by the outcrop of the phylogenetic in the insane. However, these remarks are much more common from the colored patients, and what they produce is more complete in itself. This may be because the colored race is so much nearer its stage of barbarism, or it may be because they are expressing much that is still an active factor in their everyday lives. This greater completeness of the phylogenetic product in an insane patient of the colored race is well

<sup>8</sup> J. G. Frazer. *The Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Vol. I and II, of *The Golden Bough*.

"If we analyze the principles of thought on which magic is based, they will probably be found to resolve themselves into two: first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things that have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the Law of Similarity, the latter the Law of Contact or Contagion. From the first of these, namely the Law of Similarity, the magician infers that he can produce any effect he desires merely by imitating it; from the second he infers that whatever he does to a material object will affect equally the person with whom the object was once in contact, whether it formed part of his body or not. Charms based on the Law of Similarity may be called Homeopathic or Imitative Magic. Charms based on the Law of Contact or Contagion may be called Contagious Magic."

J. G. Frazer. *The Magic Art* (Vol. I of *The Golden Bough*), page 52.

shown by the patient Eliza. She has short periods of disturbance alternating with comparative quiet, then is indifferent and greatly deteriorated. While excited this is the picture:

The patient stands on the floor, always getting a place of a few feet square free from other patients, moving to another location if they unconsciously encroach upon her. She then bends slightly backward, with chest elevated, and assumes a facial expression intended to be terrifying. She repeatedly snorts and spits, and breathes her breath out forcibly from her mouth, her objective point evidently being located anywhere within a radius of a very few feet. She stamps her feet and combs the air with her gesticulating arms. She grasps the skirt of her dress and uses it violently in the manner of one shoeing something from in front of her. This is all accompanied by a constant change of terrifying grimaces. The above is kept up constantly for days at a time, with an almost endless variation of the particular actions involved. In watching her one is thoroughly impressed with the idea that there is something extraneous to herself of which she is not in the least afraid, which she is trying by these means to frighten off. Her actions and expressions are not the product of endogenous thoughts, but are assumed with the evident purpose of accomplishing a certain thing. There is no frenzy, no lack of control, no apparent satisfaction to her from her movements, and the spitting and snorting look very different than that which we have called the contamination reflex—there is no apparent loathing of self in her attitude.

Contrast this with the phylogenetic reaction of a white man. He has been in the institution for years and is now quite out of touch with reality. He has the mannerism of standing with head bowed and hands folded in a devotional attitude. When he wishes to move from one place to another he shuffles his feet for some moments before he starts to walk. He will step a few paces, stand still, jump up and down violently, then retrace his steps and start forward again. This is coupled with more or less turning and twisting of the body, jerking his head from side to side or up and down and blinking his eyes, and sometimes he strikes himself about the knees and legs, all of this before locomotion can be instituted. He then walks with short uneven steps, not changing in attitude. If it is necessary for him to turn he again goes through the same performance. The patient himself is unable to give any clue to what he is doing, and although this is so incomplete, we can scarce avoid the conclusion that it is a fragment of religious ritual. But how different in its reproduction from that of the colored woman.

As to the phylogenetic parallels of her action, we read this from the *Golden Bough*:<sup>9</sup> "In the Island of Rook . . . when any misfortune has happened, all the people run together, scream, curse, howl and beat the air with sticks to drive away the devil, who is supposed to be the author of the mishap." Also in New Britain after epidemics, drought, famine or any other great calamity "all the inhabitants of a district, armed with branches and clubs, go out by moonlight to the fields, where they beat and stamp on the ground with wild howls till morning, believing that this drives away the devils." When disasters of this kind overtake the inhabitants of Minahassa, after many ceremonies which are not like the one Eliza is reproducing, the men either masked or with blackened faces arm themselves with "swords, guns, pikes or brooms, steal cautiously and silently back to the deserted village. Then at a signal from the priest, they rush furiously up and down the streets and into and under the houses (which are raised on piles above the ground), yelling and striking on walls, doors and windows to drive away the devils." Spitting to<sup>10</sup> scare away the demons is seen today among the women of India, at sight of a shooting star. The Massai practice the same rite. It has been elaborated into a ceremony complete in itself by the gypsies of Southern Europe. A make-up (to speak in the language of the stage) intended to be terrifying, either by painting, decorations, or masks, was used universally by medicine men and the heads of families while exorcising devils. Many more parallels in the customs of savages might be cited, but these are sufficient to show the roots of the unconscious determinants of Eliza's actions.

The shuffling, kicking, turning and twisting, and many fresh beginnings of the man whose mannerism was contrasted with her more complete ceremony, while too fragmentary to admit of so satisfactory an explanation, is suggestive of the marching, dancing and revolving of the mummers<sup>11</sup> on May day, Midsummer's Day and other days when charms of the same kind were performed.

Another colored woman who has been in the hospital many years and is now a wrinkled, white-headed little old lady, spends her time in catching witches. She begins by screwing her face up as if she were intently looking at something unseen by anyone else, then

<sup>9</sup> J. G. Frazer. *The Scapegoat*, Vol. IX of *The Golden Bough*, p. 109 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> J. G. Frazer. *The Dying God*, Vol. IV of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 61, 63, 65, and *The Scapegoat*, Vol. IX of *The Golden Bough*, p. 208.

<sup>11</sup> J. G. Frazer. *The Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Vol. I and II of *The Golden Bough*.



slowly arranges her fingers so that she can grasp very firmly the witch she is after and then begins a series of stereotyped movements. She also has an incantation of nonsense syllables, usually in triple time, like this: "Meelie, Meelie, Meelie; cracker jack, cracker jack, cracker jack; chrysanna, chrysanna, chrysanna" which she keeps up with varying vehemence until she succeeds in catching the witch. It is sometimes necessary to chase the tease about the ward, when in her abstraction she may collide with tables, chairs or even people. We have but to recall our own childhood with its belief in witches, their tricks and their slavery to whoever knew the proper motions and spells, to understand that this little brown woman has reverted not to a childhood like ours, to be sure, where there would be a questioning unbelief of these things, but to the early life of her race, where belief in witches was positive and means taken to control them invariably effective.

A young colored woman was sent to us for observation. She was an early *præcox* and made a very good impression to casual observation. She had, however, some persistent hallucinations in which the sun and the moon, sometimes separately and sometimes together, played a prominent part. Once the moon was as red as blood; once she was looking right through the sun. Repeatedly voices told her that the sun and moon were one, and once the Lord was trying to make her understand that the sun and moon were one. Her free associations were always children, either in groups or singly. When asked to explain the meaning of "the sun and moon were one" she said that it meant to her that "man and woman were one," and she spontaneously elaborated it by adding that the four quarters of the moon had something to do with children, but she did not know what.

Moon magic and religious thought concerning the sun and the moon have been well nigh universal and have left mankind deeply engraved by their significance. Even yet they are looked upon as the poetic representatives of man and woman. Many myths in which they figure have been left for us, Endymion, Zeus and Europa, and the Minotaur being the best known. Frazer says:<sup>12</sup> "To the mythical fancy of the ancients the moon was a coy or a wanton maiden, who either fled from or pursued the sun every month till the fugitive was overtaken and the lovers enjoyed each other's company at the time when the luminaries are in conjunction; namely, in the interval between the old and the new moon."

<sup>12</sup> J. G. Frazer. *The Dying God*, Vol. IV of *The Golden Bough*, p. 73.

Instances of this kind might be multiplied to the point of tiresomeness, and their parallels found, but such is not the object of this paper. The second reason assumed for the greater completeness in reproducing these savage customs by the colored race, namely, that they are actual memories of the individual, rather than of the race, is what now concerns us.

A colored patient in the Government Hospital for the Insane said one day: "You know, doctor, there are a great many things that the colored people think and believe that the white people don't know anything about." This thought remained, and thereafter in working with the patients, especially the more primitive ones, the experience of meeting a shadowy, elusive wall blocking the path of investigation was repeated many times. Although they would talk glibly enough of "hoodoos," "conjurs," "spells," "night doctors," when definite inquiry into these beliefs, which are tolerantly recognized by the superior race as part and parcel of our colored people, was tried they invariably became apologetic, confused and tongue-tied. Much was learned in an indirect manner from the so-called hallucinations and delusions of the patients, but this could not be depended upon to give any accurate idea of the race at large, for it was necessarily distorted by the psychosis. As these were studied and compared with *The Golden Bough*, so often already quoted, the thought grew that while the phylogenetic element was undoubtedly present to a large extent in their production, the ontogenetic element was much the greater factor.

Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining the material desired. As already stated, that obtained from the patients was not of the kind wanted. Certain ones of the visitors of the patients were approached, but those who evidently were possessed of the requisite knowledge and superstitious beliefs were shy, unable to express themselves and fearful that they might be ridiculed, while those able and willing to coöperate were of the better class who are no more in touch with the primitive thoughts of their race than are the white people. Help was finally obtained from a colored prisoner, whom we will call Viola, a woman of the criminal rather than the insane type. She is possessed of a great deal of shrewd intelligence and absolute faith in the savage beliefs she had been taught, together with a graphic and forceful manner of expression. To her I wish to extend my thanks and appreciation of her assistance. The following is as she has written it.

"I have heard that in olden times old colored people when they got mad with one another would kill a black snake, skin the snake and dry the skin. When it was dry they would make powder out of the dust and give a big set-out. Then they would put the powder in wine or tea, or whatever the one they were mad with drank, and about a week or two after the one that drank the snake dust would have his insides full of small snakes. My aunt told me that, and said she knew a woman at her home who fixed a man up like that because he was in love with another woman and she was in love with him.

"I heard older people telling there was once a young girl who was known to be very nice looking and she had a little dog which used to go everywhere she went. An old lady was very jealous of this girl. One day she told the girl to not have the dog following her everywhere she went. The girl told her it was her dog and she had nothing to do with it. The old woman told her 'it is your time this year but it will be mine next year.' At this time the young girl was taken down sick and every month when there was a new moon the girl would bark like a dog, get down on her hands and feet and run and bark like a dog. Live things used to move about in her legs and arms. Her uncle went away out West and got a fortune teller, and they had to drive about five miles. When they left the train before they got home the fortune teller told the man to phone and tell whoever brought the wagon to meet them to bring a pick along. She told him the color of this old woman and where she lived and why she poisoned this girl and what she did it for. When they got near the old woman's house they had to pass through a graveyard. The man got out and went to the gate of the graveyard. She told him to dig, and he did dig but he did not find anything. She told him to dig more. He found a large bottle with new needles, new pins and some new nails wrapped in flannel with this girl's hair in it. They took it up and went home where the girl was. The fortune teller told the girl's aunt and uncle she could have saved her but she had gone too far. When the girl died they found the live things, such as frogs, come out of her mouth. This old woman sent for the girl's aunt but she was afraid to go. The fortune teller told her to go, that the old woman could not harm her. She went and the old woman told her she killed the girl and many others because she was jealous of them.

"When I was a child my mother took sick and mother got a woman that married my father's brother to work at the place she was working. When mother got well she went back to work at Mrs. Johnson's hotel. My aunt refused to leave. Mrs. Johnson said my mother knew all about the work and the house and told my aunt to leave. She got mad with my mother and told her she would have her fixed. She used to cross mother every morning when she went to work, and one morning she threw something like sawdust across the door step before mother got to her working place. When mother got to the door she fell and had to

be brought back home. My aunt went back there to work. Mother's feet swelled up and she could not stand on them. Every time she took the doctor's medicine she would just scream as if someone was killing her. An old colored man told her she had been fixed and he knew a doctor who could cure her for \$25.00. The doctor lived in Willow Tree Alley. Mother sent for him. He would not let us children come in the room but mother told us he drew Aunt Bettie in a bowl of water and said she fixed her about her working place, and she would never, never get well unless she stayed from that place and he would fix her foot up the next day. She never gave him one penny until he finished. He cut her foot a little and got a green snake out, about ten inches long. We all saw that and know it was true because mother screamed and us children ran in the room to see what was wrong and the snake was on the table. We all got afraid. Mother got well but would not work at Mrs. Johnson's any more.

"My aunt Margaret, when she was a girl of twenty-one years of age, was known to be a very nice looking girl. In the country where they lived there was an old woman who was jealous of my aunt and her three daughters. She told my aunt she could be put out of the way. Some time after that she began with her head aching all the time; she would run off from home and when my grandmother would find her she would be down at the Branch, holding her head in the stream. One day my uncle John was cutting wood and she begged him to cut her head open and see what was in it. He would not do it for her and some time after that she got sick in bed. No doctor could do anything for her and she died. My mother told me her head came open and there were thousand legged worms in her head and her brains were all gone, just those live things in her head. An old colored man told my grandmother that Aunt Margaret had been poisoned with her hair. He told them where to find her hair, in the very stream she went to put her head in the water to cool it, and the old man told them he could have saved her if they had sent for him first, but the old woman that poisoned my aunt and her two girls got burned to death. The house caught fire and nobody ever knew what became of her third daughter. That's really true about my aunt. My grandmother and aunts told us so and I believe it. That is what people try to make me believe. I have given my men friends locks of hair out of my head and an old hoodoo told me that one man had put my hair in running water to set me crazy and that he would stop my headache for \$5.00 but I did not believe him because my head ached like that since I was a child.

"My twin brother died May the first, 1912, and I came to this hospital May 31, 1912. He had a wife here in Washington. She was the first sister-in-law we ever had. We all loved her, thinking she was a good woman. My brother had very good health but after he was married about a year his health began to fail. He got so he could not work

and he asked his wife to move to my mother's home so she could care for him while she, Eliza, was at work. She would not hear to that talk and fussed with him. My mother told her if she did not care to live with her that my brother should come home anyway. Finally they both came home to live. He was all right as long as she did not cook for him. When he did eat what she cooked he got so sick the doctor had to be called to see him. One day we came from the graveyard. We had just buried my little brother that was killed by the train. We all were very sad. Eliza said she would get some food ready. She took a dish of fried potatoes and a cup of tea and set it aside for herself. When the table was set they all sat down to eat but me. I did not feel like eating. My brother was the first to run from the table, he was sick. Mother and my three sisters did the same. My sister-in-law had not eaten anything yet. She told them it was because they had not eaten all that day. That made me feel strange so I went in the dining room and took her food and set it down and said 'Eliza, if that food is pure, you eat what you cooked for my mother and brother.' She got mad and began to cry and said she hated to cook for anybody that always found fault with it, but she did not eat. That was on a Thursday, May 16th; I will always remember that day. On a Saturday, the same week, the 18th, it was very warm. We were sitting out on the front porch about eight o'clock. Mother wanted some ice cream so Eliza said she would go and get some. She had to go three squares after the cream. When she was coming home with it my little sister who went with her asked her to let her hold the ice cream. She would not let her hold it. She took a box out of her stocking and put something in the ice cream. When she got home the cream was soft, very soft, and she told mother it was so warm it melted. After they ate the cream they got sick again. My sister Katie gave Eliza a calling down. She began to cry again and went in the house to go to bed. My little sister had told me about the box. I went in the room next to hers and Hattie was talking nice to Eliza. When she pulled her stocking off and the box fell on the floor my little sister and Eliza had a fight over the box but I took it from her. On Monday my brother and I went to this old black man that got the snake out of mother's foot. When we went in he told my brother he had started on the road to get well but he had a long road to travel yet. Then we paid the old man five dollars and he told my brother he had enough black snake dust in him to kill a half dozen people and that whiskey kept him alive, and for him to leave that wife and never live with her again. She ran away that Sunday; we never knew where she was until about five years ago. She found out my brother was in Philadelphia and moved there under another name. One night she gave a party and sent for my brother and his lady friend to come to her set-out. He did not know it was her. She had his dish fixed for him and when he went home from her party he was taken sick and died. Mother sent



for a hoodoo there in Philadelphia, Pa., and he told mother before my brother died that he was too far gone and he could not save him, that his wife would rather see him dead than with another woman. There were live things in my brother's legs and arms, working after he was dead.

"My sister Bettie was the oldest girl of us all and she always cared for us smaller children when mother was at work. She was a pure West Indian by birth and there was a man much older than my sister who did everything he could to make her do as he wanted her to. He asked her to run away from home and marry him. She would tell papa on him so papa told him to never come to our house any more. One day sister was at the spring and this old man got in her way so she could not run back home. He cut a plait out of the top of her head of hair and told her that if she told her father on him that she would never tell anything else. She was afraid to tell papa about it, but after six months she began acting strange. She would have headaches so bad she would strike her head against the wall. Papa went to see a hoodoo and he took papa to a stream and got a bottle out that was buried under a brick with a plait of hair in it. Some more things were mixed up in the hair, I never heard what, but after that my sister was taken with the St. Vitus dance. She stayed like that for about five years. No one could cure her. An old hoodoo told mother the old man must die first. He died and at times she would get better, then worse. Mother had quite a little money papa left her so she spent it on Bettie. She got well but at times she would shake like she had the St. Vitus dance. When she was taken sick it came back on her and she died.

"A friend of mine one time was keeping company with a young man and another girl was in love with the same man. While Lucy was away from home one night this girl who was in love with Lucy's friend, took a lock of Lucy's hair she had given this gentleman for a keepsake and put it in a bottle with nine new needles and nine new pins. She went to Lucy's front door step, while she was away and dug some of the earth up and buried the bottle of hair and pins. They came home the next morning and saw the place at the door. Lucy knew she had not dug any of the earth up. She went into the house and got some sticks and looked to see what was there. She found the bottle with the hair, needles and pins in it. She went to a fortune teller and was told why it was put there, that if it had remained there nine days she would have been crazy. He told her this woman was jealous about a man and wanted to get her out of the way. Lucy married the man and was happy for two years, but after the two years she and her husband could not get along very well. He would often go to see the other girl and have his meals at her house. He began to swell up in his hands and feet and arms. I used to go to Lucy's house to see her and she had told me about things crawling in her husband's arms. I took it as a joke and he showed me one day

something under the skin, moving from his muscle down near his wrist. It was as large as the palm of my hand and he soon had to stop working. A hoodoo doctor came to Lucy's house and he got a green frog out of her husband's arm. He got better for a while but died about a year after and not very long after this Lucy died.

"When I was about ten years old I let a little boy kiss me. A lady by the name of Mrs. Lee, who rented a room from my mother, saw me. My mother worked then at Mrs. Brown's and this Mrs. Lee told me she was going to tell my mother on me. When mother came home she told on me and I got a good whipping that night. The next day I put my thumb up to my nose at her and called her bad names. She told me she would have me fixed, and would make me spend my life in prison. She went to Alexandria the next day and had me hoodooed. At eleven years I began to go to prison. I went to a fortune teller and that was when I was eighteen years old. She told me I had a Jew curse put on me and I would go to prison as long as the person lived and I lived. Mrs. Lee has died since I have been in prison, so my luck now is good, I think.

"Once I kept getting arrested and an old colored man by the name of Mr. Young told my mother that a spell had been put on me and that he could break it if she gave him five dollars. She was so glad to keep me out of prison she gave him the five dollars. When I was called to Court this Mr. Young came down to the cell where I was waiting to be called up in Court for trial and gave me a rabbit's foot to put in my pocket for luck. He also gave me an opossum's foot that looked like a baby's hand to carry around with me, and something that looked like a piece of bark off a tree. I had to chew the bark while my trial was going on. I had a little bag around my neck that I was not to let anyone see. I gave the rabbit's foot to a man waiting for trial; he had stolen a check and cashed it. Well, I chewed the bark Mr. Young gave me when I went in Court and kept the bag and possum foot. I got three years on each charge. I had three charges against me, so that made nine years in the penitentiary. Mr. Young came down stairs when I got my time and told me I would never go to prison; he would fix it so I would get free, but when they made up the twenty prisoners to go I went too and my mother was out her five dollars. After I went to jail I opened the bag he gave me and inside of the little brown bag was a piece of red flannel with some quicksilver sewed up in it. That was my good luck he gave me.

"I have always heard that night doctors are doctors just as any other doctor. They are allowed so many dead bodies in the fall of the year and so many dead bodies in the winter, that is, if they are not caught getting them. Then they practice on them to learn to be a doctor. When people die with some sickness and a doctor cannot cure them, such as brain fever or a double head or a big head, when the person is dead the doctor pays lots of money to some grave robber to steal the

dead body and then lots of the young doctors practice on it before they become a doctor. Dr. M——— for whom I worked when I was a very young girl, had all kinds of dead people's bones in one room in his house, from babies up to old people, and I always thought he was a night doctor and felt he would catch me, but I was so thin he could not make anything out of me, like they would fat people. There was an old lady by the name of Maud Black and I was about four years of age when we moved to Washington. We moved to long frame flats where white and colored people lived in different parts. A little girl named Agnes and her little brother were playing in the yard when this Maud Black called the two children into her house and then took them up to Dr. B———'s drug store. The little girl got afraid and pulled away from Mrs. Black and ran away crying. Some people took her and her little brother home. They had some fuss before the old lady would give them up. After I grew up I had a year in jail and Maud Black came down three times, once for six months and twice for three months for grave robbing. She and her husband always worked together. Both of them were very old but they would steal the dead and small children that were alive. Mrs. Black had bones of dead people in her house. The doctor that she took those two children to hanged himself about ten years afterwards.

"When I was small there was a real fat woman and her son was fat too. They used to come to the market at two or three o'clock Saturday morning in their wagon. When they had passed the hospital some men caught them on a dark road. They slapped the plaster over the old lady's mouth but the boy jumped out and got half the plaster over his mouth and nose. He made fuss enough to get help but his mother had smothered to death. They were taken to a hospital and when the plaster was taken from the boy's mouth the skin was pulled off. That was real true. I knew him well.

"Maggie has been telling me every time I write my dreams for the doctor that the doctor gives me snake dust to throw over her head to keep her from going home, and she will have the spell turned back on the negroes and white people too. Every morning when Maggie is scrubbing and gets near my door she makes a cross on the floor at my door, puts her hands all over her head and face and makes signs and she says "Oh, my God, let the spells go back on Viola and the white people too." She says I sit and read her mind, then write to the doctor what she is thinking about and that the doctor gives me a hoodoo to throw around so it will fall in her path and cause her to fall and break her leg so she will have to stay here all her life. But she says she will be out soon and have the doctor and Viola and the rest of the negroes fixed. She wanted my right foot stocking sole and a piece of hair from my head and she said she would make me bark like a dog and have me fixed so that I will never get out of here. She says that the white people and I are jealous."

Here Viola has written a number of concrete instances in which the same fundamental beliefs are to be seen; the snake as a charm, needles and pins, hair from an individual's head, the result of the charm seen when the one who is conjured "swells all up" or has "live things" in his flesh appear several times.

Worship and fear of the snake are as widespread as is the snake itself, and over and over again do the charms and spells of imitative magic make use of this animal.<sup>13</sup> It is a powerful talisman and a most influential agency of harm. It is sometimes alive; sometimes dead; sometimes mutilated; sometimes dried; and often, as Viola has it, powdered. It is used in rain charms and wind charms; it is the father of human beings or it receives the souls of the important dead in its body; it is a cure for disease or a magic charm to cause disease, as the medicine man may desire.

The use of needles and pins<sup>14</sup> as Viola has described is probably an adaptation from the constant use of nails and thorns in the magic rites, although needles and pins were sometimes employed in the same way by the savages. Their reasoning seemed to take two directions. In many instances nails were used to nail down ghosts, spirits, devils, etc., or to keep them plugged up in the trees or posts. On the other hand their sharpness served as a perpetual reminder to the spirits that certain things had been required of them. Both lines of reasoning very likely enter in here. The spell can thus be fastened more securely to the one against whom it is directed, and the sharpness of the needles and pins permitted of no forgetting. We also note in this connection the magic number nine.

The great principle underlying contagious magic, that one is forever in very close sympathetic relations with every bit of his own body, or even that which has touched his body, gives reason for the ability of the colored hoodoo doctor to wreak vengeance by means of a lock of his victim's hair. Frazer says "a drop of a man's blood, some clippings of his hair or parings of his nails, a rag of the garment which he had worn, sufficed to give a sorcerer complete power over him." In a most peculiar manner has the hair of the head been symbolic of the individual. It was the seat of Samson's

<sup>13</sup> J. G. Frazer. *Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Part I, Vol. I of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 152, 153, 195, 287, and *Spirits of the Corn and the Wild*, Part II, Vol. VIII of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 288, 293.

<sup>14</sup> J. G. Frazer. *Magic Art and Evolution of Kings*, Part II, Vol. II of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 42, 76, and *Taboo and Perils of the Soul*, Vol. III of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 233, 236, and *The Scapegoat*, Vol IX of *The Golden Bough*, pp. 59-75.

strength; it was early accepted as a substitute for human sacrifice and the methods of its dressing or its neglect have had definite meanings in the religious life of the people.

True and certain knowledge of the causes and courses of disease is a very recent acquirement of mankind. The savage mind credited the supernatural with everything which it could not understand. An unending life of perfect health was what he confidently expected, hence sickness and death must be due to some malign influence which could be invoked by anyone who wished him ill. The colored race is especially liable to anasarca of various grades, so that "swelling all up" would be easy to call down upon the head of the victim. "Live things in the muscles" we may conclude are local spasms of muscle fiber. Any nervous phenomenon or mental trouble is regarded with wonder and uneasiness which increases as we approach barbarism. No wonder then, that the medicine man was appealed to to revoke these disasters when they overtook one, or to bring them upon that person against whom revenge was desired.

Now we must remember that it was only a few generations ago that our colored people were living in the midst of the era of magic, and these things of which Viola writes, as well as countless more, were the very fiber of their being. It was transplanted to our shores with the first slaves, and was kept alive from the same source of supply. It was as necessary to their thought as it had ever been to our own. The frowns and scoffing of the white race could not kill it, but only made it a thing to be covered and kept from their knowledge. It of necessity must adapt itself to its new environment, so some things were changed, like the pins and needles, some things lost and some new items added. This can best be illustrated by what another patient contributed. She was seen one morning with a bunch of dried sunflowers in her hand which she had rescued from the ward trash box. She said they were very valuable indeed, as by their means she could cure anyone she wanted to or keep anyone in the hospital whom she did not want to go. This patient has never been delusional in all the years she has been with us, therefore what she told was part of her own primitive life rather than a phylogenetic reproduction. She, however, lost an important element in the charm, for to be efficacious the flowers should have been gathered under exactly prescribed conditions of sun, stars, dew or whatnot. She also had changed the flowers, for she was using the small double cultivated sunflowers, which scarcely could have been part of her ancestor's charm.



We can also learn much from the word hoodoo. As we use this it is said to be a variant of the earlier word voodoo, which still is occasionally heard farther South, and is commonly used in Haiti. The word is traced directly to African origin, where it exists in various dialects (Creole French, *vaudoux* = a negro sorcerer. At Whydah, *vodun* = a fetish; Ashanti, *obosöm* = tutelary spirit). It has been brought bodily to us and its spelling anglicized, but its primary meaning unchanged, only extended to include the spell itself. The belief and practices of hoodooism then, as well as the word which is the symbol of the concept, were brought to us on the closely packed slave ships. That it has lived at all is proof of the need of these strangers within our gates for this very thing. Like a baby learning to walk, they are as yet unable entirely to let go of the chair which has helped them so far.

When so much could be learned from one individual, who invariably protested at the end of each story that it was positively all she knew, it is a safe conclusion that this primitive method of thought is an integral part of the race, and is not due merely to their individual ignorance.

We are now able to write *quod erat demonstrandum* under our theorem, that the products of the unconscious in the insane of the colored race are influenced not only by the fact that these patients are but a few generations removed from an earlier world, but they are also expressions of the actual beliefs and practices of their everyday lives; that is, they are ontogenetic as well as phylogenetic in origin.

## DISCOMFITURE AND EVIL SPIRITS

BY ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

The psychologists have discovered ethnology. There is Professor Thorndike's criticism of the ideo-motor theory, a theory, he points out, that "originated some fifty thousand years ago in the form of the primitive doctrine of imitative magic, and is still cherished because psychology is still, here and there, enthralled by cravings for magical teleological power in ideas beyond what the physiological mechanisms of instinct and habit allow."<sup>1</sup> There is Freud with a book on totemism and taboo and Dr. Otto Rank writing about the hero myth. And the other day in the hands of one of their American translators, a well-known alienist, I noted with surprise a volume of "The Golden Bough." At a later moment I was still more surprised to hear the theory of recapitulation issuing from his respectable psychological lips. That alluring theory the Freudians, it seems, have resurrected to serve their turn. And for their theory of the infantile psychosis it does nicely. How long it will satisfy them is another question. Meanwhile it is a means of directing their attention to the study of comparative culture.

In this field there is, I venture to suggest, a particularly fertile corner awaiting them—demonology. Between belief in evil spirits or bad luck and apprehensive or troubled states of mind there is unquestionably a close relation. For the moment I would point out the concomitance of belief in supernatural evil and perturbation of a certain type, the perturbation caused by breaks in the routine of life.

In spite of the safeguards given the tendency to routine, given habit, these breaks must occur, and they occur the more sharply for their very postponing. Sooner or later the facts of change caused by age or sex must be met. Shirked as they actually occur, when met at last face to face they startle or shock. Ceremonialism and, by the less primitive, sentimentality are the methods we take to reduce this shock. Crisis or epochal ceremonial is, we may say, a kind of shock absorber.

Nevertheless, mitigated though it be, in various degrees the shock of change does tell. And the sense of unrest, the wearing uncer-

<sup>1</sup> The Psychological Review, XX (1913), 101.

tainty, the upset, are still apprehended. The apprehension embodies itself in beliefs in alarming spirits besides leading to magical precautions against more or less definite misadventure.

From this point of view let us glance at some of the beliefs and practices incident, among primitive peoples, to the crises of life. We may begin with that of puberty and the initiation ceremonial that notifies that the child has become a man, having reached the time to put away childish things and to associate with the men, to break definitely with the nursery and with the women. Supernatural beings are associated with initiation ceremonies and with the other experiences prescribed for puberty. For the initiates they are not the same as for the uninitiated, the women and children. For the women and children they are more fearful spirits, more fearful, I suggest, not merely because of the policing function the initiated ascribe to them, but because of the perturbation the uninitiated suffer from the severing of their relations with the candidates for initiation.

The adolescence of girls is also an occasion for the presence of alarming spirits. Among the Chiriguano of Bolivia "the snake that has wounded the girl" has to be ceremonially hunted out and killed. To the Siamese the "wound" of menstruation has also a supernatural cause, the evil spirits of the air are responsible. The ardent Freudian might readily interpret the folk-tale of "Sleeping Beauty" as due to apprehensiveness of the machinations of evil spirits at adolescence. Was it not on her sixteenth birthday that the princess was destined to prick her finger, destined by the Bad Fairy who had been overlooked at the birth ceremony?

It were unnecessary to remind as close students of sex as the Freudians that mating is a time of apprehensiveness. It is an opportunity too for supernatural wretches. In South Celebes there is one who makes a bridegroom impotent and measures are taken at marriages to frustrate the bad intentions of other wedding devils. The sedan chair of a Manchu bride is disinfected against bad spirits, and in it is placed a calendar containing the names of idols who control the spirits of evil. On the way to the bridegroom's house should a temple or well be passed red cloths are held up by two outrunners, to shield against evil influence. When the sedan arrives, crackers are fired in exorcism. On the sedan of a Chinese bride is painted the figure of a great magician riding a lion and brandishing a sword against the evil spirits lying in wait for the bride on her wedding day and on the day she pays her first visit home—unless formalized, a disconcerting experience. Among the ancient Hindus at weddings

a Brahman threw into the air a small stick or arrow saying: 'I pierce the eye of the spirits who are about this bride.' The Druses of the Lebanon believe that the gins are very busy at marriages, and Russian peasants close up all the openings of a house including the chimney to keep evil-minded witches from flying in to the hurt of the bridal pair. But of all supernatural mischief makers at weddings the most famous I know of and the mightiest is that devil of Media who was worsted by Tobias, son of Tobit and suitor of his kinswoman, Sarah, daughter of Raguel. Before the advent of Tobias Sarah had been given to seven bridegrooms who had perished one after the other in the bridal chamber, all at the hands of Sarah's Satanic lover.<sup>2</sup>

During pregnancy, at childbirth and afterwards evil spirits hang around. In some of the islands of the Malay Archipelago pregnant women carry a knife when they leave the house to frighten off evil spirits. Among the Alfoers of Halmahera malevolent birth spirits are warned off by a sword set in front of the house, and among the Malay tribes of the Philippines the father of the expected child goes up on the roof with a *bolo* to hack at the birth spirits infesting the air. Greek peasants believe that the ghosts have power over the woman who has given birth and she is therefore cautioned against going out. For the first forty days Albanians would have her stay indoors too—for fear of witchcraft—and of night keep to her own room,<sup>3</sup> a "confinement" indeed.

At death the ghosts themselves are so much the focus of attention and express so fully the fears of the survivors that extraneous spirits seem hardly called for. They are sometimes on the scene, however, even if in their origin they may be suspected to have been the ghosts themselves. But not only anxiety for themselves is felt by survivors, they are anxious about the dead—to judge at least from their beliefs about the evil spirits who infest the ways to be taken by the departed. The Kols of India painted the corpse yellow to keep off the demons who would stop the soul on its journey. In Japan a sword is laid upon the corpse to serve against evil-minded spirits. Wulasha was the name of a Mosquito Indian

<sup>2</sup> In him Jung sees the wish fulfillment of Sarah's father, Raguel, a censored incest wish. Dismay in the Elder over having to face a family readjustment is to my mind a more plausible explanation.

<sup>3</sup> Samter, E. *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, pp. 22-3. Leipzig and Berlin, 1911. To this study the reader is referred for the endless devices taken by peasants and savages against supernatural molestation at times of crisis.

demon who attacked the dead unless the "pall bearers" carried off the corpse sufficiently surreptitiously. As for the devils of Gainism, of Buddhism or Christianity were they merely penal inventions? Was not fear of the great change enough in itself to produce fierce devils? No doubt our Aryan cousins and our forbears feared death because of the devils and their torturous abode, but because these mortals feared death they were the readier also to believe in Satan and Hell.

Not that the fear of devils and the devils of fear do not join hands into a kind of circle, so to speak, cause becoming effect and effect cause; but on the whole evil spirits, I surmise, owe their existence to perturbation rather than perturbation to evil spirits. But this is a problem the psychologist might well take over from the ethnologist. And when he does, he might also find out for us why the belief in evil spirits has gone out of modern culture. Is it because we moderns are comparatively fearless? Is it because from the dread of change the edge has been taken off?



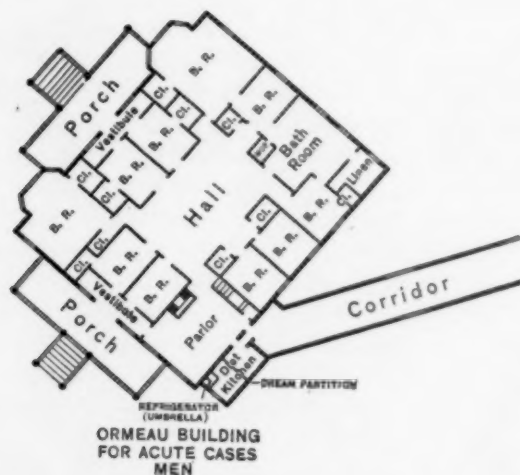
## TWO VERY DEFINITE WISH-FULFILMENT DREAMS

By C. B. BURR, M.D.

FLINT, MICH.

### DREAM NO. I

*Explanatory:* The Ormeau Building in connection with Oak Grove Hospital is for the care of restless, disturbed and delirious patients. It is approached by a corridor. At the end of the corridor are two doors, one to the right leading to the reception room, another straight on to a serving room and diet kitchen. At the end of the diet kitchen near the window stands a refrigerator. There is a doorway between the diet kitchen and the reception room. (See sketch.)



*Dream Content:* I entered the serving room with the intention of going through this to the reception room of the Ormeau Building and discovered that a partition had been thrown across the diet kitchen, shutting off from view the refrigerator and the window. Much irritated that this change in construction should have been made without my consent, I proceeded to exact an explanation. Whereupon—awakening.

*Analysis:* On the day preceding the dream, I had had two conversations:

First: This was with one of the directors. I stated that Oak Grove could be transformed with little expense into a general hospital, that the beautiful grounds might be used for a park and that they ought by rights to revert to the public for this purpose. I laid especial stress upon the fact that owing to the corridor arrangement and the grouping of buildings, every need of a hospital could be satisfactorily met, including a division for mental cases and those suffering from delirium which give so much anxiety in general hospitals.

Second: My wife and I had spoken together of the wish to know how fared the household in a pension in Munich where three years before my family and myself had been hospitably entertained. I announced the partial intention of writing: then, realizing that nothing could be said in sympathy with the German cause, the impulse to write was not carried over into execution. Thinking of Munich, there came to my mind, an umbrella made and purchased in Munich in the possession of which I have had great satisfaction.

Incidental to the dream picture is another circumstance connected with an umbrella. Years ago in making my way to the Ormeau reception room, through the diet kitchen, I discovered a dilapidated umbrella posed upon the top of the refrigerator in the corner. It was far from decorative and in my then mood, an object of offense. Learning by inquiry its owner, I sent word to the individual to remove the sorry wreck and was rewarded by notice that she would take away not only the umbrella but herself immediately.

*Wish Fulfilment:* The partition in the serving room shut off all view of the offensive umbrella. It also shut off the umbrella which, for dream purposes, represented Munich. It symbolized complete separation from an environment to which I was formerly much attached but for which there is at present no yearning.

*Auxiliary Wish Fulfilment:* The partition having been placed without my consent, signified that Oak Grove was no longer under my jurisdiction and had been converted to hospital and park purposes.

#### DREAM NO. 2

*Explanatory:* I had just completed a journey to a distant city undertaken because of mischievous misinformation which friends had received as to neglect of a seriously sick patient. The mission was suc-

cessful and my feelings, somewhat torn, had been very much relieved. On the way to Flint, I had supper at the railroad eating house at a junction point. There was some talk between my vis-a-vis at table and myself as to the same prices being charged for meals as twenty years ago, notwithstanding the higher cost of food. I was served by a pleasant-faced young woman and was impressed by her hospitable manner when she inquired "One or two lumps of *sugar*?" She received the very moderate tip left by my plate with an engaging smile and "thank you." That evening I played cards in company with one who suffers from *diabetes*. I made the trip against the wish of my wife who thought my cold was severe enough to forbid the effort. During the interview with the wife of the patient, I read to her the daily record while the patient was under care in Oak Grove. In this record was a report of the routine urine analysis. It was entirely negative and as I read it the thought flashed through my mind: "This is consuming time over an inconsequential matter and unnecessarily."

I had bought a considerable quantity of sugar at a low price some two years ago and have since hoped to get in at the bottom of the market for an additional purchase. To this end, I have talked several times with a representative of a sugar company and was advised waiting. A few days ago he whispered to me that he thought a favorable time to buy would be in February.

*Dream Content:* I consulted a physician who required a specimen of urine and upon which he reported (showing me the tube) that there was sugar.

*Wish Fulfilment:* That the new consignment of sugar would come into my possession at a reasonable price, as had the sugar in my teacup and in the test tube, at small cost. The interesting connection of the urinalysis reading and the patient with diabetes will not be overlooked.

## CRITICAL REVIEW

### "SONS AND LOVERS": A FREUDIAN APPRECIATION

BY ALFRED BOOTH KUTTNER

Poets and novelists often strive for impressiveness in their creations by dealing in strange plots and adventures or in monstrous and unnatural loves. The advantages gained may well be called in question: to be grotesque is hardly ever to be great and the bizarre may survive as a demerit after it is exhausted as a sensation. The great literature of life is after all built around the commonplace. The *Odyssey* treats of a bad case of homesickness, a thing which we all understand perfectly. The drama of *Œdipus* depicts an incestuous relationship, and we do not have to be told that it is horrible. What distinguishes enduring literature is not novelty, but freshness of feeling, and that pointed insight into life which reveals a vivid personality keenly alive. *Sons and Lovers* has the great distinction of being very solidly based upon a veritable commonplace of our emotional life; it deals with a son who loved his mother too dearly, and with a mother who lavished all her affection upon her son.

Neither this distinction nor its undeniable freshness and often amazing style would of itself entitle Mr. D. H. Lawrence's novel to anything beyond an appreciative book review. But it sometimes happens that a piece of literature acquires an added significance by virtue of the support it gives to the scientific study of human motives. Literary records have the advantage of being the fixed and classic expression of human emotions which in the living individual are usually too fluid and elusive for deliberate study. The average man, subjected to what seems to him a kind of psychological vivisection, is apt to grow reticent, and mankind must often be convicted through its literature of impulses which under direct scrutiny it would acknowledge only with the greatest reluctance or else deny altogether. Literature thus becomes an invaluable accessory to the psychologist, who usually does well to regard with suspicion any new generalization from his researches for which the whole range of literary expression yields no corroboration. But if he can succeed in finding support there his position is immensely strengthened. For a new truth about ourselves, which may seem altogether gro-

tesque and impossible when presented to us as an arid theory, often gains unexpected confirmation when presented to us in a powerful work of literature as an authentic piece of life. When at last we recognize ourselves we like the thrill of having made a discovery.

*Sons and Lovers* possesses this double quality to a high degree. It ranks high, very high as a piece of literature and at the same time it embodies a theory which it illustrates and exemplifies with a completeness that is nothing less than astonishing. Fortunately there can be no doubt as to the authenticity of the author's inspiration. For it would be fatal if the novel had been written with the express purpose of illustrating a theory: it would, by that very admission, be worthless as a proof of that theory. But it happens that Mr. Lawrence has already produced notable work, mainly some early and evidently autobiographical poems, which show his preoccupation with the identical theme. *Sons and Lovers* is thus truly creative, in that it is built up internally—as any masterpiece must be—out of the psychic conflicts of the author, and any testimony which it may bear to the truth of the theory involved will therefore be first hand.

The theory to which I have been referring is Professor Sigmund Freud's theory of the psychological evolution of the emotion of love as finally expressed by a man or a woman towards a member of the other sex, and the problem which Mr. Lawrence voices is the struggle of a man to emancipate himself from his maternal allegiance and to transfer his affections to a woman who stands outside of his family circle. What the poet has seen as a personal problem the scientist has formulated as a theory. I shall outline the problem first and then relate it to the theory. If the theory can succeed in generalizing the truth which Mr. Lawrence's novel presents the reader will realize with fresh force that fiction, to be great art, must be based upon human verities.

First we shall see how it happened that the mother in this story came to lavish all her affections upon her son. In the opening chapter Mrs. Morel, the wife of a Derbyshire coal miner, is expecting her third child, the boy Paul, who is to become the central figure of the story. Her life with her husband has already turned out to be a complete fiasco. He is a drunkard and a bully, a man with whom she shares neither intellectual, moral or religious sympathies. What strikes her most about Morel is that he presents a striking contrast to her father, who was to her "*the type of all men.*" For he had



been a harsh, puritan type, given to theology and ignoring "all sensuous pleasure," while Morel is the very opposite; warm, sensuous and indulgent, with a "rich ringing laugh" and a "red, moist mouth." It is this sensuous quality in Morel which overwhelms and confounds her; she goes down before the sheer, impersonal male in him. After the sex illusion has worn off somewhat Mrs. Morel makes an attempt to draw nearer to her husband. But the clash of personalities is stronger than the transitory tie of their poetized passion and Morel's habitual drunkenness, his indulgent and shiftless ways, and his temperamental dishonesty are mercilessly flayed by his almost fanatically moral and religious wife. It is very easy for her to loathe him. At the time of the birth of her third child the breach is already irreparable. Mrs. Morel dreads the coming of another child, conceived unwillingly out of a loveless relation, and at the sight of it a sense of guilt steals over her. She will atone: "*With all her force, with all her soul she would make up to it for having brought it into the world unloved. She would love it all the more now it was hers; carry it in her love.*" Towards Paul she feels, as to none of the other children, that she must make up to him for an injury or a sin committed by her and that he must recompense her for all that she has missed in her shattered love for her husband.

All the early formative influences in Paul's life radiate from his mother. Physically he is more delicate than the other children so that his illnesses tend to further her concentration upon him still more. Paul is a "pale, quite child" who seems "*old for his years*" and "*very conscious of what other people felt, particularly his mother. When she fretted he understood, and could have no peace. His soul seemed always attentive to her.*" His mother and for a time his sister Annie are his only real companions. His brother William is too old to be his playmate and other children play no rôle in his early childhood. One vicious bond of sympathy unites all the Morel children; their common hate and contempt for their father. This feeling poisons the whole family life. Often, of a windy night in their creaking house, the children lie awake listening in terror for his drunken return, his banging fists and the muffled voice of their mother. The strain is greatest upon Paul. Towards evening he grows restless and stays near his mother, waiting for his father's coming and the usual scene of abuse and violence. Already at an early age these hostile feelings take definite shape. He often prays: "*Lord, let my father die.*" And then, with a kind of guilty conscience: "*Let him not be killed at pit.*" One incident in par-

ticular stands out in his memory. Morel has just blackened his wife's eyes and William, then already a tall and muscular youth, threatens to beat him. Paul aches to have him do it; it is his own wish which he cannot carry out. Later, when he is older, he almost does it himself, but for his mother's fainting, and his physical encounters with other men are tinged with a deadly animosity, as if the memory of that earlier hate had lingered on in him. We must remember that Paul had been born into an atmosphere of parental violence; when still a baby his father hurled a drawer at his mother so that the blood had trickled down upon the child's head. Indelible among his earliest impressions must have been that gross and terrifying figure, threatening his life and that of his mother, whose convulsive movements to protect him must have aroused an answering quiver in the child.

The early relations between mother and child are full of a delicate and poetic charm. Paul's admiration for his mother knows no bounds; her presence is always absorbing. Often, at the sight of her, "*his heart contracts with love.*" Everything he does is for her, the flowers he picks as well as the prizes he wins at school. His mother is his intimate and his confidant, he has no other chums. When Morel is confined to the hospital through an accident in the mine, Paul joyfully plays the husband, "*I'm the man in the house now.*" He is happiest when alone with her. By this time the interaction between mother and son is complete; she lives in him and he in her. In fact his whole attitude towards her is but the answer which she gradually evokes from him as her whole life finds expression in her son. "*In the end she shared everything with him without knowing. . . . She waited for his coming home in the evening, and then she unburdened herself of all she had pondered, or of all that had occurred to her during the day. He sat and listened with his earnestness. The two shared lives.*" The emotional correspondence between them is striking, "*his heart contracted with pain of love of her*" just as from the very beginning she has always "*felt a mixture of anguish in her love for him.*" Mother and son are one; the husband is completely effaced and the father exists merely as a rival.

But now Paul is to strike out for himself. He takes up an occupation and finds himself attracted to women. His mother's whole emphasis has always been towards making Paul interested in some other occupation than his father's dirty digging, as a protest against the sordidness of the life that she herself has been com-

pelled to lead with him. She therefore encourages the boy's liking for pretty things, for flowers and sunsets and fancy stuffs, and is delighted when his slender artistic endowment begins to express itself in pencil and paint. Her emotional revolt against her husband here takes an esthetic turn, as people are often driven to beauty by their loathing of the ugly, and it is interesting to note that Mrs. Morel's tendencies to estheticize Paul and to effeminate him go hand in hand, as if the two sprang from a common root. Paul never becomes a real artist. He uses his painting to please his mother and to court his women, but in the crises of his life his art means nothing to him either as a consolation or as a satisfying expression. As his painting is essentially dilettante and unremunerative, his mother apprentices him in a shop for surgical appliances where the process of effeminization goes on through his contact with the girls and women with whom he works. He himself has no ambition. All that he wants is "*quietly to earn his thirty or thirty-five shillings a week somewhere near home, and then, when his father died, have a cottage with his mother, paint and go out as he liked, and live happy ever after.*" Not, like any normal boy, to strike out for himself, to adventure, to emulate and surpass his father, but to go on living with his mother forever! That is the real seed of Paul's undoing. We shall now trace the various attempts on his part to emancipate himself from his mother by centering his affections upon some other woman.

The first woman to attract Paul is Miriam Leiver, a shy, exalted and romantic girl who leads a rather lonely life with her parents and brothers on a neighboring farm. Paul's approach is characteristically indirect; he begins by avoiding the girl and cultivating her mother. Meanwhile Miriam, piqued by the neglect of this well-mannered boy, who seems so gentle and superior, has fallen in love with him. Paul is fascinated but uneasy and fights shy of personal intimacy with her. The intensity of her emotions frightens him and impresses him as unwholesome. He finds her growing absorption in him strangely discomfitting: "*Always something in his breast shrank from these close, intimate, dazzled looks of hers.*" His feminine attitude towards her tends to reverse the usual method of courtship; it is Miriam who has to seek him out, to call for him and make sure of his coming again. Paul tries to approach her in two ways; through his art and as her teacher. Both methods are really self-defensive, they are barriers that he erects against Miriam to prevent anything too personal from arising between them, to

keep his real self, as it were, inviolate. For as a painter he distracts her attention from himself to his work and as her instructor he wields an authority with which he can keep her emotions in check by overawing her. Something about her is always putting him on edge, he loses his temper at her very easily and feels a dawning impulse of cruelty. "*It made his blood rouse to see her there, as it were, at his mercy.*" Sometimes he feels an actual hatred for her. And immediately he thinks of his mother: "He was *thankful in his heart and soul that he had his mother, so sane and wholesome.*"

Paul resists every intimation that he is falling in love with Miriam. He indignantly repudiates his mother's insinuation that he is courting and hastens to assure Miriam: "*We aren't lovers, we are friends.*" And Miriam, who has already gone so far, tries to fortify herself with a prayer. "*O Lord, let me not love Paul Morel. Keep me from loving him, if I ought not to love him.*" But her love breaks through again and her healthier instincts triumph. Henceforth Paul can do with her as he will. But he can do nothing with her love because he cannot return it. Love seems to him like a "*very terrible thing.*" The honest and more impersonal passion that he feels for her frightens him. "*He was afraid of her. The fact that he might want her as a man wants a woman had in him been suppressed into a shame.*" He cannot even kiss her. And he hates her again because she makes him despise himself. They gradually move to the edge of a quarrel.

And now Mrs. Morel makes her appeal. Almost from the first she has mistrusted Miriam. She fears that Miriam will absorb him and take him away from her. "*She is one of those who will want to suck a man's soul out till he has none of his own left.*" Her jealousy revels in the exaggerated simile of the vampire. "*She exults—she exults as she carries him off from me. . . . She's not like an ordinary woman . . . she wants to absorb him . . . she will suck him up.*" So she throws down the gauntlet to her rival. She makes Paul feel wretched, as only a mother can make a son feel, whenever he has been with Miriam. Her comments grow spiteful and satiric; she no longer takes the trouble to hide her jealousy and plagues him like a cast woman. "*Is there nobody else to talk to? . . . Yes, I know it well—I am old. And therefore I may stand aside; I have nothing more to do with you. You only want me to wait on you—the rest is for Miriam.*" It sounds like a wife's bitter reproach to her husband. Paul writhes under her words and hates Miriam for it. But Mrs. Morel does not stop there. She makes the final, ruthless, cowardly appeal.

" And I've never—you know, Paul—I've never had a husband—not—really—"

He stroked his mother's hair, and his mouth was on her throat.

" Well, I don't love her, mother," he murmured, bowing his head and hiding his eyes on her shoulder in misery. His mother kissed him, a long, fervent kiss.

" My boy!" she said, in a voice trembling with passionate love.

Without knowing, he gently stroked her face. Thus she wins him back. He will continue to console her for her husband. There follows the scene where Paul almost thrashes his drunken father and implores his mother not to share the same bed with him. It is a crisis in his life: ". . . he was at peace because he still loved his mother best. It was the bitter peace of resignation."

But there is some resistance in him still. For a time he stands divided between his two loves. " And he felt dreary and hopeless between the two." In church, sitting between them, he feels at peace: " uniting his two loves under the spell of the place of worship." But most of the time he is torn between the two women. He does not understand his feelings. " And why did he hate Miriam and feel so cruel towards her at the thought of his mother?" His emotions towards Miriam are constantly changing. Sometimes his passion tries to break through. But it cannot free itself. " I'm so damned spiritual with you always!" He blames her for the humiliating sense of impotence which he feels. It is all her fault. He transfers all his inhibitions to her and consciously echoes his mother's accusations. " You absorb, absorb, as if you must fill yourself up with love, because you've got a shortage somewhere." When her love for him flames out to confound him he takes refuge by talking about his work. There at least some freedom is left for them both. " All his passion, all his wild blood, went into this intercourse with her, when he talked and conceived his work." But at last he tells her that he does not love her, that he cannot love her physically. " I can only give friendship—it's all I'm capable of—it's a flaw in my make-up. . . . Let us have done." And finally he writes: " In all our relations no body enters. I do not talk to you through the senses—rather through the spirit. That is why we cannot love in common sense. Ours is not an everyday affection." Thus he tries to spiritualize their relations out of existence. He would persuade himself of his own impotence.

Paul's whole experience with Miriam has thrown him back upon his mother; he gets away from Miriam by returning to her. " He



had come back to his mother. Hers was the strongest tie in life. When he thought round, Miriam shrank away. There was a vague, unreal feeling about her. . . . And in his soul there was a feeling of the satisfaction of self-sacrifice because he was faithful to her" (his mother). "She loved him first; he loved her first." He is her child again and for a time he feels content. They go off on a charming excursion to Lincoln Cathedral. He behaves like a lover out with his girl, buying her flowers and treating her. Suddenly there surges up in him a childhood memory of the time when his mother was young and fair, before life wrung her dry and withered her. If only he had been her eldest son so that his memory of her could be still more youthful! "What are you old for!" he said, mad with his own impotence. "Why can't you walk, why can't you come with me to places?" He does not like to have such an old sweetheart.

At the same time his whole outlook upon life also grows childish again. When his sister Annie marries he tries to console his mother. "But I shan't marry, mother. I shall live with you, and we'll have a servant." She doubts him and he proceeds to figure it out. "I'll give you till seventy-five. There you are, I'm fat and forty-four. Then I'll marry a staid body. See! . . . And we'll have a pretty house, you and me, and a servant, and it'll be just all right." His plans for the future have not changed. He thinks at twenty-two as he thought at fourteen, like a child that goes on living a fairy-tale. But it is a false contentment and he pays the penalty for it. In resigning the natural impulse to love he also resigns the impulse to live. Life cannot expand in him, it is turned back upon itself and becomes the impulse to die. Paul makes the great refusal. "What is happiness!" he cried. "It's nothing to me! How AM I to be happy? . . . He had that poignant carelessness about himself, his own suffering, his own life, which is a form of slow suicide." Mrs. Morel sees the danger and divines the remedy. "At this rate she knew he would not live. . . . She wished she knew some nice woman—she did not know what she wished, but left it vague." But now she knows that she can no longer hold her son to her exclusively.

At this point Paul begins to turn to another woman, Clara Dawes, a friend of Miriam. She is married, but lives separated from her husband. Paul has known her for some time before becoming intimate with her. She exerts a frankly sensual attraction upon him without having any of that mystical unattainableness

about her which he felt so strongly with Miriam. Her presence has had the effect of gradually seducing him away from Miriam without his knowing it. There would be less difficulty with her. She is a married woman and is unhappy with her husband, like his mother. To love her would not be so momentous a thing, he would be less unfaithful to his mother if he had an affair with a woman who already belonged to someone else. Their relations threaten to become typical of the young man and the woman of thirty. *"She was to him extraordinarily provocative, because of the knowledge she seemed to possess, and gathered fruit of experience."* The question of marriage would hardly enter; he could go on loving his mother. But still he is inhibited. *"Sex had become so complicated in him that he would have denied that he ever could want Clara or Miriam or any woman whom he knew. Sex desire was a sort of detached thing, that did not belong to a woman."* Clara's first service to him is to talk to him like a woman of the world and thus correct his self-delusion about Miriam: *"... she doesn't want any of your soul communion. That's your own imagination. She wants you."* He objects. *"'You've never tried,' she answered."* Thus she gives him courage to do what he never could have done of his own accord.

The force which drives him back to Miriam is nothing but the sheer, pent-up sexual desire that has alternately been provoked and repressed in him. Now indeed it is a completely detached thing which does not belong to any woman. He has almost entirely succeeded in de-personalizing it. That is why he feels that he can let it run its course. But not in any personal way. *"He did not feel that he wanted marriage with Miriam. He wished he did. He would have given his head to have felt a joyous desire to marry her and have her. Then why couldn't he bring it off? There was some obstacle; and what was the obstacle? It lay in the physical bondage. He shrank from the physical contact. But why? With her he felt bound up inside himself. He could not go out to her. Something struggled in him, but he could not get to her. Why?"* And Miriam does not insist upon marriage, she is willing to try out their feelings for each other. Theirs is a pitiful love-making. He cannot bear the blaze of love in her eyes; it is as if he must first draw a veil over her face and forget her. *"If he were really with her, he had to put aside himself and his desire. If he would have her, he had to put her aside."* Love brings him only a sense of death: *"He was a youth no longer. But why had he the dull pain*

in his soul? *Why did the thought of death, the after-life, seem so sweet and consoling?*" Love has brought them no satisfaction, only bitterness and disillusion. He turns back to his men friends and to Clara's company and the old quarrel between him and Miriam breaks out afresh. He decides to break off his relations with her. But at last he is to hear the truth about himself from Miriam. *"Always—it has been so!" she cried. 'It has been one long battle between us—you fighting away from me.'*" He tries to tell her that they have had some perfect hours. But she knows that these do not make up the healthy continuity of life. *"Always, from the very beginning—always the same!"* She has called him a child of four. It is the truth, and it goes to the heart of his vanity. She has treated him as a mother treats a perverse child. He cannot stand it. *"He hated her. All these years she had treated him as if he were a hero, and thought of him secretly as an infant, a foolish child. Then why had she left the foolish child to his folly? His heart was hard against her."*

The full flood of his passion, freed of some of its incubus through his experience with Miriam, now turns to Clara. He tries to wear it out on her in the same impersonal way, and for a time lives in sheer physical ecstasy. With her at least he has had some solace, some relief. His mother has not stood so much between them. But it is only temporary, he cannot give himself to Clara any more than he could give himself to Miriam. Clara loves him or would love him if he could only rise above the mere passion that threw them together. *"'I feel,' she continued slowly, 'as if I hadn't got you, as if all of you weren't there, and as if it weren't ME you were taking—' 'Who then?' 'Something just for yourself. It has been fine, so that I daren't think of it. But is it me you want, or is it IT?' . . . 'He again felt guilty. Did he leave Clara out of count and take simply woman? But he thought that was splitting a hair.'* They begin to drift apart. He rehearses his old difficulties with his mother. *"I feel sometimes as if I wronged my women, mother."* But he doesn't know why. *"I even love Clara, and I did Miriam; but to give myself to them in marriage I couldn't. I couldn't belong to them. They seem to want ME, and I can't even give it them."*

*"You haven't met the right woman."*

*"And I shall never meet the right woman while you live."*

His relations with Clara have brought about a marked change in Paul's attitude towards his mother. It is as if he realized at last

that she is destroying his life's happiness. *"Then sometimes he hated her, and pulled at her bondage. His life wanted to free itself of her. It was like a circle where life wanted to turn back upon itself, and got no further. She bore him, loved him, kept him, and his love turned back into her, so that he could not be free to go forward with his own life, really love another woman."* But his realization, as far as it goes, brings no new initiative. He is twenty-four years old now but he still sums up his ambition as before: *"Go somewhere in a pretty house near London with my mother."*

The book now rounds out with the death of Paul's mother. Mrs. Morel gradually wastes away with a slow and changeful illness; it is an incurable tumor, with great pain. Paul takes charge and never leaves his mother until the end. Their intimacy is occasionally disturbed by the clumsy intrusion of Morel, whose presence merely serves to irritate his wife. Paul and she commune with the old tenderness. *"Her blue eyes smiled straight into his, like a girl's—warm, laughing with tender love. It made him pant with terror, agony, and love."* Their reserve drops before the imminence of death, it seems as if they would be frank at last. But there is also the old constraint. *"They were both afraid of the veils that were ripping between them."* He suffers intensely. *"He felt as if his life were being destroyed, piece by piece, within him."* But mingled with his love and his anguish at her suffering there now enters a new feeling: the wish that she should die. Something in him wants her to die; seeing that she cannot live he would free both her and himself by hastening her death. So he gradually cuts down her nourishment and increases the deadliness of her medicine. Here again he approaches close to the source of his trouble; he dimly realizes that he has never lived outside of his mother and therefore has never really lived. The feeling that he cannot live without her and the feeling that he cannot live a life of his own as long as she is alive, here run side by side. But when the death which he himself has hastened overtakes her, he cries with a lover's anguish: *"'My love—my love—oh, my love!' he whispered again and again. 'My love—oh, my love!'"*

But death has not freed Paul from his mother. It has completed his allegiance to her. For death has merely removed the last earthly obstacle to their ideal union; now he can love her as Dante loved his Beatrice. He avows his faithfulness to her by breaking off with the only two other women who have meant anything to him.

He is completely resigned, life and death are no longer distinguished in his thinking. Life for him is only where his mother is and she is dead. So why live? He cannot answer, life has become contradictory. "*There seemed no reason why people should go along the street, and houses pile up in the daylight. There seemed no reason why these things should occupy space, instead of leaving it empty. . . . He wanted everything to stand still, so that he could be with her again.*" But life in him is just a hair stronger than death. "*He would not say it. He would not admit that he wanted to die, to have done. He would not own that life had beaten him, or that death had beaten him.*"

The last chapter of the book is called "Derelict." The title emphasizes Mr. Lawrence's already unmistakable meaning. Paul is adrift now; with the death of his mother he has lost his only mooring in life. There is no need to follow him further; when he is through despairing he will hope again and when he has compared one woman to his mother and found her wanting, he will go on to another, in endless repetition. The author's final picture of Paul's state of mind is full of seductive eloquence: "*There was no Time, only Space. Who could say that his mother had lived and did not live? She had been in one place and was in another; that was all. And his soul could not leave her, wherever she was. Now she was gone abroad in the night, and he was with her still. They were together. And yet there was his body, his chest, that leaned against the stile, his hands on the wooden bar. They seemed something. Where was he?—one tiny upright speck of flesh, less than an ear of wheat lost in the field. He could not bear it. On every side the immense dark silence seemed pressing him, so tiny a spark, into extinction, and yet, almost nothing, he could not be extinct. Night, in which everything was lost, went reaching out, beyond stars and sun. Stars and sun, a few bright grains, went spinning round for terror, and holding each other in embrace, there in a darkness that outpassed them all, and left them tiny and daunted. So much, and himself, infinitesimal, at the core of nothingness, and yet not nothing.*"

"*'Mother!' he whimpered—'mother!'*"

3.

Such is the condensed account of Paul's love-life. Textual testimony could hardly go further to show that Paul loved his mother too dearly. And shall we now say that it was *because* Mrs. Morel



lavished all her affection upon her son? But then, most mothers lavish a good deal of affection upon their sons and it is only natural for sons to love their mothers dearly. Why should an excess of these sacred sentiments produce such devastating results? For it is undoubtedly the intention of the author to show us Paul as a wreck and a ruin, a man damned out of all happiness at the age of twenty-five, who has barely the strength left to will not to die. And why should we accept as a type this man who seems to bear so many ear-marks of degeneracy and abnormal impulse, who is alternately a ruthless egotist and a vicious weakling in his dealings with women, and who in the end stoops to shorten the life of his own mother? Surely the thing is deeper and due to profounder causes. But of these the author gives us no indication. Let us therefore assume for the moment that Paul is by no means a degenerate, but merely an exaggeration of the normal, unhealthily nursed into morbid manifestations by an abnormal environment. If that can be established it may very well be that the story of Paul's love-life simply throws into high relief an intimate and constant relation between parent and child the significance of which has hitherto escaped general observation. Perhaps all men have something of Paul in them. In that case their instinctive recognition of their kinship with the hero of the book would go a great way towards explaining the potency of "Sons and Lovers." We are fond of saying something like that about Hamlet.

The theory which would enable us to assume such a point of view is at once concrete, humanly understandable, and capable of personal verification. For Freud holds that the love instinct, whose sudden efflorescence after the age of puberty is invested with so much poetic charm, is not a belated endowment, but comes as the result of a gradual development which we can trace step by step from our earliest childhood. In fact, according to Freud, the evolution of the mature love instinct begins as soon as the child has sufficiently developed a sense of the otherness of its surroundings to single out its mother as the object of its affections. At first this is entirely instinctive and unconscious and comes as the natural result of the child's dependence upon its mother for food, warmth and comfort. We come preciously close to being born lovers. The mother is the one overwhelming presence of those earliest days, the source from which all good things flow, so that childhood is full of the sense of the mother's omnipotence. From her we first learn how to express affection, and the maternal caresses and the inti-

mate feeling of oneness which we get from her form the easy analogies to love when we feel a conscious passion for another individual of the opposite sex. Our mother is, in a very real sense of the word, our first love.

As soon as the child is capable of making comparisons with other people it proceeds to celebrate the superiorities of its mother. She is the most beautiful, the most accomplished, the most powerful, and no other child's mother can equal her. But meanwhile the influence of the father, that other major constellation of our childhood, is also felt. Though not so gracious, he too is mighty, mightier than the mother, since he dominates her. His presence brings about a striking change in the attitude of the child, according to its sex. The boy, seeing that the mother loves the father, strives to be like him, in order to draw the mother's affection to himself. He takes his father as an ideal and sets about to imitate his masculine qualities. And the girl, becoming aware of the father's love for the mother, tries to attract some of his love to herself by imitating the mother. This is the process of self-identification which is already conditioned by the natural physical similarity where parent and child are of the same sex. Father and son, and mother and daughter, now have a common object of affection. But to the child this means at the same time an active rivalry, for the child is an unbridled egotist, intent upon nothing less than the exclusive possession of the affection of the beloved parent. It therefore manifests unmistakable signs of jealousy, even of frank hostility. So strong is this feeling that a careful examination of the unconscious childhood memories of thousands of individuals, such as is possible with the Freudian method of psychoanalysis, has yet to reveal an infancy in which a death phantasy about the rival parent has not played a part. The childish wish is ruthlessly realized in imagination; the boy suddenly dreams of living in a cottage with his mother after the father, let us say, has been devoured by the lion of last week's circus, while the girl revels in the thought of keeping house for her father after the mother has been conveniently removed. We may feel, then, that we were fellow conspirators with Paul when he prayed to God to have his father slain. For we have had the same wish in common: to eliminate the rival and celebrate a childish marriage with the parent of our choice.

From this naïve attitude the child is normally weaned by the maturing influences of education and by the absolute barriers which its childish wish encounters. It is a slow and gradual process of

transference, which continues through childhood and puberty. The child is tenaciously rooted in its parents and does not easily relinquish its hold upon them. Even after it has acquired a dawning sense of the meaning of sex it continues to interweave its immature phantasies of procreation with its former ideal adoration of the parent. Thus the girl, having had a glimmering that the father has something essential to do with her birth, may assign to him a similar function in regard to her dolls, which of course are her children. And the boy, similarly aware that his father has played a mysterious part with regard to the mother when she suddenly introduces another child into the nursery, is likely to usurp the exercise of this function to himself. Both substitutions are merely more sophisticated ways of eliminating the rival parent by making him unnecessary. It must be remembered, of course, that the child can have none of our reservations as to the direction which the erotic impulse may take, and therefore quite innocently directs its crude and imperfect erotic feelings towards its parent, from whom they must then be deflected. This is most favorably accomplished when there are other children in the family. The girl is quick to see the father in her brother and the boy transfers his worship of the mother to his sister. The father's manly qualities are used by the girl to embellish the brother when she sets him up as a love ideal. From him again she slowly extends her love phantasies to other boys of his and her acquaintance. The boy on his part, dowers his sister with the borrowed attributes of his mother and then passes from her to other girls who in turn are selected on the basis of their similarity to the sister and to the mother. In default of brothers or sisters other playmates have to serve the same purpose. The enforced quest of a love object other than the parent thus becomes the great incentive of our social radiation towards other individuals and to the world at large.

This process of deflection and transference, which is one of the main psychic labors of childhood, is facilitated by a parallel process that constantly represses a part of our thoughts to the unconscious. The mechanism of repression, as the Freudian psychology describes it, does not become operative until the age of about four or five, for at first the child does not repress at all and therefore has no unconscious. But the function of education consists largely in imposing innumerable taboos upon the child and in teaching it to respect the thou-shalt-nots. Thoughts and feelings such as the cruder egotistical impulses and the associations with bodily functions, which

seem quite natural to the child's primitive and necessarily unmoral mind, gradually fall under the cultural ban proclaimed by parents and educators, so that the unconscious becomes a receptacle for all the thoughts that are rendered painful and disagreeable by the slowly developing sense of shame and of moral and ethical behavior. We "put away childish things" by putting them into the unconscious. Our germinating sexual ideas and our naïve erotic attitude towards our parents become particularly "impermissible" and we therefore draw an especially heavy veil of forgetfulness over this part of our childhood. But though we can forget, we cannot obliterate, and the result of this early fixation upon our parents is to leave in our mind an indelible imprint, or "imago," of both our mother and our father. Our parents are always with us in our unconscious. They become our ultimate criterion by which we judge men and women, and exercise the most potent influence upon our love choice. The imago of them that holds us to our unconscious allegiance is a picture, not as we know them later, old and declining, but as we saw them first, young and radiant, and dowered, as it seemed to us then, with godlike gifts. We cannot go on loving them so we do the next best thing; the boy chooses a woman who resembles his mother as closely as possible, and the girl mates with the man who reminds her most of her father.

Such, according to Freud, is the psychological genesis of the emotion of love. The normal evolution of love from the first maternal caress is finally accomplished when the individual definitely transfers his allegiance to a self-chosen mate and thereby steps out of the charmed family circle in which he has been held from infancy. That this is difficult even under normal circumstance seems already to have been recognized in the Bible, where Christ says with so much solemnity: "For this cause shall a man leave father and mother"; as if only so weighty a reason could induce a child to leave its parents. Freud, in postulating the above development as the norm, proceeds to attach grave and far-reaching consequences to any deviations from this standard. The effect of any disturbance in the balanced and harmonious influence of both parents upon the child, or of any abnormal pressure of circumstances or wilful action that forces the child into a specialized attitude toward either parent, is subtly and unerringly reproduced in the later love-life. The reader himself will probably recall from his own observation, a large number of cases where the love-life has been thwarted, or stunted, or never expressed. He will think of those old bachelors whose warm

attachment to their mother has so much superficial charm, as well as of those old maids who so self-effacingly devote themselves to their fathers. He will also recall that almost typical man whose love interest persistently goes where marriage is impossible, preferably to a woman already preempted by another man or to a much older woman, so that his love can never come to rest in its object; he will wonder whether this man too is not preserving his ideal allegiance to his mother by avoiding that final detachment from her which marriage would bring. He will notice a class of men and women who, even though their parents are dead, seem to have resigned marriage and live in a kind of small contentment with a constantly narrowing horizon. Or he may know of actual marriages that are unhappy because the memory of one of the parents has not been sufficiently laid to rest, and the joke about the mother-in-law or the pie that mother used to make, will acquire a new significance for him. And to all these cases thousands must still be added where neurotic and hysteric patients reveal with unmistakable clearness that the ghosts of the parents still walk about in the troubled psyches of these unfortunates, influencing life and happiness with paralyzing effect. These are all manifestations which the reader hitherto has observed only as results, without knowing the causes or trying to ascertain them. With the aid of the Freudian theory such examples may now help him to see, as perhaps he has already begun to see in Paul, the tremendous rôle that the abnormal fixation upon the parent plays in the psychic development of the individual. And in so doing he may perhaps also gain some insight into the part that his own parents have played in his normal psychic growth, just as disease gives us a clearer understanding of health or as Madame Montessori's study of subnormal children has enabled her to formulate general laws of education.

4.

We can now return to *Sons and Lovers* with a new understanding. Why has the attitude of the son to his mother here had such a devastating effect upon his whole life? Why could he not overcome this obstacle like other children and ultimately attain some measure of manhood? Why, in short, was the surrender so complete? In Paul's case the abnormal fixation upon the mother is most obviously conditioned by the father, whose unnatural position in the family is responsible for the distortion of the normal attitude of the child towards its parents. The father ideal simply does not



exist for Paul; where there should have been an attractive standard of masculinity to imitate, he can only fear and despise. The child's normal dependence upon the mother is perpetuated because there is no counter-influence to detach it from her. But there is another distortion, equally obvious, which fatally influences the natural development. Paul's early fixation upon his mother is met and enhanced by Mrs. Morel's abnormally concentrated affection for her son. Her unappeased love, which can no longer go out towards her husband, turns to Paul for consolation; she *makes* him love her too well. Her love becomes a veritable Pandora's box of evil. For Paul is now hemmed in on all sides by too much love and too much hate.

If now we compare Paul's boyhood and adolescence with, let us say, the reader's own, we find that the difference is, to a great extent, one of consciousness and unconsciousness. All those psychic processes which are usually unconscious or at least heavily veiled in the normal psycho-sexual development lie close to consciousness in Paul and break through into his waking thoughts at every favorable opportunity. Everything is raw and exposed in him and remains so, kept quick to the touch by the pressure of an abnormal environment which instead of moulding, misshapes him. The normal hostility towards the father which is conditioned in every boy by a natural jealousy of the mother's affection, is nursed in him to a conscious hate through Morel's actual brutality and his mother's undisguised bitterness and contempt. And the normal love for the mother which ordinarily serves as a model for the man's love for other women is in him perverted into abnormal expression almost at his mother's breast, so that he is always conscious of his infatuation with his mother and can never free his love-making from that paralyzing influence. These powerful determinants of the love-life which we acquire from our parents would be too overwhelming in every case were it not for the process of submersion or repression already referred to. This repression usually sets in at an early stage of childhood and acts biologically as a protective mechanism by allowing us to develop a slowly expanding sense of selfhood through which we gradually differentiate ourselves from our parents. In this way the fateful dominance of the parents is broken, though their influence remains in the unconscious as a formative and directing impulse.

In Paul this salutary process never takes place because he cannot free himself from the incubus of his parents long enough to come

to some sense of himself. He remains enslaved by his parent complex instead of being moulded and guided by it. One turns back to that astonishing scene at Lincoln Cathedral. Here Paul goes to the roots of his mother's hold upon him. For his passionate reproaches hurled at his mother because she has lost her youth, prove that the mother-imago, in all its pristine magic, has never diminished its sway over him; he has never been able to forget or to subordinate that first helpless infatuation. If only she could be young again so that he could remain her child-lover! With that thought and wish so conscious in him nothing else in life can become really desirable, and all initiative is dried up at the source. Paul cannot expand towards the universe in normal activity and form an independent sex interest because for him his mother has become the universe; she stands between him and life and the other woman. There is a kind of bottomless childishness about him; life in a pretty house with his mother—the iteration sounds like a childish prattle. Miriam feels it when she calls him a child of four which she can no longer nurse. Nor can Clara help him by becoming a wanton substitute for his mother. Only the one impossible ideal holds him, and that means the constant turning in upon himself which is death. Paul goes to pieces because he can never make the mature sexual decision away from his mother, he can never accomplish the physical and emotional transfer.

If now this striking book, taken as it stands, bears such unexpected witness to the truth of Freud's remarkable psycho-sexual theory, it is at least presumable that the author himself and the rest of his work also stand in some very definite relation to this theory. The feeling that *Sons and Lovers* must be autobiographical is considerably strengthened by the somewhat meager personal detail which Mr. Edwin Björkman supplies in an introduction to Mr. Lawrence's first play. Mr. Lawrence was himself the son of a collier in the Derbyshire coal-mining district and his mother seems to have occupied an exceptional position in the family, showing herself to be a woman of great fortitude and initiative, who evidently dominated the household. Mr. Björkman is silent concerning the father, but gives us the interesting information that *Sons and Lovers* was written not long after the mother's death. This information is not sufficient, however, to warrant our inquiry going beyond the author's writings, a step for which, in any case, it would be necessary to have both his permission and his coöperation. We must therefore limit ourselves to the testimony of Mr. Lawrence's work. This

consist of two additional novels, a volume of poems, and a play. What is truly astonishing is that all of these, in various disguises and transparent elaborations, hark back to the same problem: the direct and indirect effects of an excessive maternal allegiance and the attempt to become emancipated from it.

Reference has already been made to the poems. This is the way the author ends a love poem:

"What else—it is perfect enough,  
It is perfectly complete,  
You and I,  
What more—?  
*Strange, how we suffer in spite of this!"*

Why, it may well be asked, should the perfection of love bring suffering? Certainly the love poems of adolescence are not as a rule colored with the feeling of suffering as unmotivated as this. But there is a second poem, entitled *End of Another Home-holiday* which in the short space of three pages states Paul's whole problem with unmistakable precision. The poet tells how dearly he loves his home and then continues as follows:

"The light has gone out from under my mother's door.  
That she should love me so,  
She, so lonely, greying now,  
And I leaving her,  
Bent on my pursuits!"

How curiously that last line comes in, "Bent on my pursuits!" as if he felt that he ought to stay at home. Here we have again the son who cannot leave his mother; the mere thought of doing so fills him with self-reproach. In the next few lines the reproach deepens:

"Forever, ever by my shoulder pitiful Love will linger,  
Crouching as little houses crouch under the mist when I turn.  
Forever, out of the mist the church lifts up her reproachful finger,  
Pointing my eyes in wretched defiance where love hides her face to mourn."

Even inanimate things point the finger of reproach at him. A little later in the same poem the mother becomes a symbolic figure, following the son through life like a Norn, as she begs for his love.

"While ever at my side,  
Frail and sad, with grey bowed head,

The beggar-woman, the yearning-eyed  
Inexorable love goes lagging."

\*  
\*  
\*

"But when I draw the scanty cloak of silence over my eyes,  
Piteous Love comes peering under the hood.  
Touches the clasp with trembling fingers, and tries  
To put her ear to the painful sob of my blood,  
While her tears soak through to my breast,  
Where they burn and cauterize."

The poem ends with the call of the corncrake in the poet's ear, crying monotonously:

"With a piteous, unalterable plaint, that deadens  
My confident activity:  
With a hoarse, insistent request that falls  
Unweariedly, unweariedly,  
Asking something more of me,  
Yet more of me!"

An interesting, tell-tale clew in these last lines shows how thoroughly this poem is Paul's and to how great an extent Paul and the author are one and the same. For the careful reader will remember that Paul too, coming home over the fields after visiting Miriam is strongly depressed by the call of this same little bird and immediately goes in to his mother to tell her that he still loves her best and that he has broken off with Miriam. Has not his mother too, "deadened his confident activity." Her influence could hardly be better described in a single phrase. The whole poem is a protest against the terrible allegiance that the mother exacts, just as Paul, towards the end of the book, reproaches his mother for the failure of his life. It can hardly be doubted that a vital part of the lyricist has gone into Paul.

In reading the two remaining novels and the play our attention is immediately struck by a curious sameness and limitation of motif that underlies them all. In each there is a deadly father or husband hate, a poignant sense of death, and a picture of marriage or love that does not satisfy. Siegmund, the husband in *The Trespasser*, is exposed to a hate so withering that he collapses before it. He is a kind and gentle musician, too effeminate for a man, and entirely devoid of initiative. The hatred of his wife and children is practically unmotivated, we are simply asked to assume it in order to

follow him in his affair with Helena. This brings him no solace, he cannot come to rest in her, his love for her simply brings him the sense of death. It is the psychology of Paul transferred to a man of forty, and Helena's struggle to make his love for her real is much like Miriam's. In the play, *The Widowing of Mrs. Holroyd*, the wife seeks to escape from a brutal and drunken husband by eloping with another man. The death of her husband in a mining accident intervenes and brings her a sense of pity and remorse because she never tried to win and hold her husband's love. She had married him without love. Her son hates his father and wishes him dead. Blackmore, the man with whom she wanted to elope, has much of Paul in him; his belief that love can bring happiness is never more than half-hearted. The sense of guilt that the death of the husband brings to both of them, makes the elopement impossible. Death always supervenes upon the impermissible with Mr. Lawrence.

In *The White Peacock* the background is again a ruthless hate for the husband and father. One of the daughters says: "*There is always a sense of death in this house. I believe my mother hated my father before I was born. That was death in her veins for me before I was born. It makes a difference.*" We get a picture of women who marry meaningless husbands and men who marry unsatisfying wives. Lettie marries Leslie because George, whom she really loves, lacks the initiative to claim her, and George marries Meg after his abortive love for Lettie has made him despair of life. Neither he nor she come to any emotional satisfaction; Lettie consoles herself for her aimlessly empty husband by living in her children, and George ends his "*Liebestod*" in drink. Lettie's brother, who tells the story, is almost sexless except towards his sister, whom he admires like a lover. One gradually gets a sense of monotony; happiness in love is always impossible in this fictional world of Mr. Lawrence, and hate for the parent or husband is the master passion. The motivation is often indistinct or inadequate in all three stories, and the artistry is inferior. They were evidently only preludes to *Sons and Lovers*.

In the story of Paul the author has reached the final expression of a problem which haunts his every effort. The creative labor of self-realization which makes *Sons and Lovers* such a priceless commentary on the love-life of to-day, accomplished itself but slowly in Mr. Lawrence, waiting, no doubt, for his artistic maturity and the final clarity which the death of his mother must have brought. And



if, as I have tried to show, he has been able, though unknowingly, to attest the truth of what is perhaps the most far-reaching psychological theory ever propounded, he has also given us an illuminating insight into the mystery of artistic creation. For Mr. Lawrence has escaped the destructive fate that dogs the hapless Paul by the grace of expression: out of the dark struggles of his own soul he has emerged as a triumphant artist. In every epoch the soul of the artist is sick with the problems of his generation. He cures himself by expression in his art. And by producing a catharsis in the spectator through the enjoyment of his art he also heals his fellow beings. His artistic stature is measured by the universality of the problem which his art has transfigured.

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## TRANSLATION

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS FOR THE MENTAL SCIENCES

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*(Continued from page 214)*

The type of analytic thinker who proceeds preëminently from the certainty of the theory of knowledge which seeks to erect the foundations and bounds of conscious human knowledge will scarcely afford in his theories an object for psychoanalytic investigation. The mingling of unconscious wish elements is, in far-reaching measure, excluded, since consciousness works in the self-knowledge of its own capabilities. With this type our interest is concentrated on the peculiar character formation and personality which comes to expression therein, so that the philosopher, as shown in many places, seeks to shut himself from the practical and genial life, to keep himself free from the deceptive mingling of reality in his thought processes, as far as he may, in order to bring thought reality into play in extensive manner.

The psychoanalytic study of the obsessional neurotic has afforded a first understanding of these philosophical tendencies, as well as the relation to world and men, action and thinking, resulting from them, that is, to the limitation of action and overgrowth of thought. These patients are not only closely related to the type of the philosopher by their own keen intelligence, their interest in transcendental things and their ethical scruples, but also betray to us further the narcissistic nature of self-examination of their own thinking and the intensive sexualization of this, which tends ever farther away from the original sensual content of the ideas, to the pleasurable emphasizing of the thought processes themselves. To the neurotic compulsion to subtle inquiry, to the pathological search for explanation, to the force-destroying doubt of the obsessional neurotic individual, there corresponds the

philosophical admiration of otherwise unobserved phenomena, the logically motivated pedantic arrangement of thought according to the principle of symmetry, the strong need for causality that unites itself preferably to the deepest, insoluble problems of individual and cosmic design, which are enveloped in eternal doubt. All these traits reveal themselves to the psychoanalytic investigation as the result of various fates of definite infantile instinctive tendencies and inclinations, among which the pleasure in looking (Schaulust) and the craving for knowledge, as well as the instinct for mastery, connected with cruel impulses, play the chief rôles. In particular does the early and energetic repression, which the intensive sexual investigation of the child experiences from external and internal agencies, come into play in corresponding manifold ways. Either the desire for knowledge of the forbidden object of investigation is so well repressed that it remains inhibited from then on; or the repression of sexual curiosity fails and returns from the unconscious, as neurotic compulsion to constant questioning, in which, now, the thinking and investigating itself assumes the pleasure which originally applied to the sexual aim; finally, there is still possible, the ideal case, that the libido sublimated to the desire for knowledge supports and stimulates the instinct for investigation, so that it is possible for the latter to work in the service of intellectual interests.

We easily recognize that the type of analytic thinker stands nearest to the second possible outcome of the repression of infantile instinct for investigation, in that he, remaining in a purely intellectual field, invests the thought processes themselves, by means of a far-reaching introversion of libido, with pleasure, and forces upon reality the laws of his own thought, as happens in the subjective realism of Kant,<sup>50</sup> Schopenhauer,<sup>51</sup> and others, and further, in the phenomenalism ending in Solipsism. The egocentric attitude toward the outer world, reveals itself, as the result of a narcissistic overvaluation of the ego<sup>52</sup> and thought reality, which is projected into the outer world.

<sup>50</sup> Kant: "Hitherto, one assumed that all our knowledge must direct itself toward objects; . . . One may therefore make the attempt once, whether we may not get along better in the problems of metaphysics by assuming that objects must direct themselves according to our knowledge."

<sup>51</sup> Schopenhauer: "The world is my idea."

<sup>52</sup> It is known that Fichte places most distinctly the ego and its consideration in the center of his philosophy and view of the world and derives everything else from that. The metaphysical distinction between pure and empirical ego does not come into the question for our psychological consideration.

Opposed to this, stands the type of positivistic investigator, who applies his sublimated need for knowledge and causality in suitable manner to objective reality and therewith, has, for the most part, renounced the pleasure principle. As is obvious, he represents the third of the cited potential results of infantile repression of instinct, and will afford the psychoanalytic investigation in his personality and his work, the least material, since with him, libidinous instinctive forces, as in Nietzsche, functionate only as a thought creating motor.

By far our greatest interest belongs to the first type of true metaphysical philosopher, who is most accessible psychoanalytically, not only in his artistic personality, but often also betrays so plainly in the content of his work the phantastic wish material that the relationship of this kind of philosophizing to the invention of myths struck even Aristotle. Thus, while the two first types possess preëminent characterological interest for us, since the unconscious instinctive impulses and libidinous energies serve only in the byway of character formation, as generator of thought and investigation, still, in the third type, the content of the system is plainly determined and influenced by the unconscious; to this fact, the few typical fundamental views and systems, ever recurring in the course of the development of philosophy, would have called our attention; the many surprising similarities in structure and content between these philosophical systems and the miscarried system formations of certain sufferers from mental disease, psychoanalysis has disclosed.

Though this kind of philosophizing is closely related to artistic endeavor, still, it is not to be overlooked, that both these types of mental productivity display a sharp differentiation, indeed, in certain respects, a psychoanalytically interesting contrast. Even outwardly, the artist is scarcely conceivable without a strong attachment and need for courting his contemporaries, while a strong introversion of his libido and an autistic thinking (Bleuler) characterize the philosopher.<sup>53</sup> The banal conception of the erotic freedom of the artist and of the sexual continence (chastity) of the philosopher, denotes this contrast even if grossly, still, not without significance.<sup>54</sup> The artist ever joins his universal human creations

<sup>53</sup> Plato also calls thinking "sublimated sexual instinct."

<sup>54</sup> Both Schopenhauer and Nietzsche emphasize the typical unmarried condition of the philosopher, which they themselves demonstrate in the examples of Cartesius, Leibniz, Malebranche, Spinoza, Kant and others.

to the individual case, the philosopher strives for generalizations; the artist wishes to please and, therefore, uses suggestive means, the philosopher wishes to convince and therefore makes use of logical means. A distinction extending beyond the description, Schopenhauer has fixed in the statement: "One is not a poet without a certain bias for error and falsehood; on the other hand, not a philosopher, without a directly opposite propensity." The deeper differences may, in the ultimate analysis, be traced back to a difference of sexual constitution, that by the artist, an hyper-erotic, that by the philosopher, an anerotic, matured on variously emphasized partial instincts and the manifold fates of these, but especially in the philosopher, on a much farther forced diversion from sexual into mental, transcendental, unreal.

The unconscious expresses itself in corresponding manner in these system-formations as in the artistic productions. We distinguish accordingly two forms of expression of the same in the philosopher which are characterized as metaphysical, since they seem to be founded on no objective knowledge: namely, the religious and mythological system-formation. The former, of which there are various forms, postulates a creator, who may have produced the world from himself or from nothing (Heraclitus, Stoics, Neo-Platonists, Mystics). As in the formation of religion, psychoanalysis recognizes also in this, the universal unconscious projection of a father image, which has been powerful in infantile life, and can assert, that the feeling of omnipotence ruling the "thinker" here seems to pass over to the god-father by way of projection. In other systems, the whole world is animated in animistic manner and the dualism of the dead physical world and of the spirit permeating it, is contemplated under the picture of sexual reproduction; the rich elaboration of this sexual symbolism by individual mystics plainly betrays this system as projection of inner libido processes. In conscious recognition of this sexualization, not only of the thought functions, but also of the thought content, Ludwig Feuerbach once traced back the philosophical contrasts and speculative discussion of the relation of subject and object, to the sexual relation of man and woman.

The mystical system-formations are characterized by the assumption of a transcendental world, which, like the subjective idealism, can pass as depreciation, refusal, or destruction of painful reality and as a flight to the infantile wish-situations projected from the unconscious. Here belongs also the belief in preëxist-



ence, transmigration of souls and return of the same, which, in ultimate analysis, proceeds like the corresponding religious dogmas, from unconscious mother-womb and rebirth phantasies.

These metaphysical ideas are, in their disregard of every test of reality, most readily accessible to psychoanalytic dissection, as phantasy products, and reveal themselves then, as phenomena of projection of the unconscious mental life into a supernatural world which naturally approaches the wishes of the individual in question, and those of many others in high degree, since psychologically considered, it represents only a narcissistic self-reflection of the individual in the cosmos. This metaphysical projection forms in a way, the most primitive and most frequent form, in which the unconscious flows into system formation. The first step in the direction of knowledge of the unconscious is formed by the rationalistic and mystical systems which, however opposed they may appear otherwise, still have in common that they expect to find the deepest nature of the world and the ultimate knowledge of things; in spite of this tendency, they cannot gain a direct insight into the field of the unconscious but conceive only in endopsychic perception and represent in symbols. In this stage of knowledge, the unconscious meets us in the philosophical theories as something mystical, inconceivable and unrecognizable. In the course of further development, there has finally come about a sharp, definite conception of the unconscious, of which individual philosophers, as for example Hartmann, speak, even though in a different sense than psychoanalysis, while others have recognized and represented it in its significance and operation, as Schopenhauer, in the theory of will, or Nietzsche, whose psychoanalytic derivation of the metaphysical and ethical needs from primitive instinctive impulses, needs only to be recalled here.

In order to forestall misunderstandings, we will state expressly, although in this connection, the exclusive emphasis of psychoanalysis needs no apology, that, with these schematic remarks, we have neither exhausted the essence of philosophy, nor glanced over the history of its development, nor believe to have made entirely comprehensible the personality of the philosopher. All we could expect was to hastily indicate from what points the psychoanalytic method of consideration was in a position to approach these problems. Searching detailed investigations will have to show how much such attempts may be able to contribute

to the psychological comprehension of philosophy.<sup>55</sup> To a critical estimation of a system, they will naturally never extend, and do not pretend to; they may only give definite hints and suggestions concerning the personal and subjective conditions of philosophical thought and views, whereby, however, the objective value of philosophical results must not be touched in the least.

Similar viewpoints and limitations, as for our study of metaphysics, apply also to the psychoanalytic elucidation of ethics, as far as it is treated in the systems as a philosophical discipline. This comes about mostly from the claim that philosophy, on the ground of its insight into world phenomena and human life, is also first called upon to state ethical standards for the conduct of the individual in his relation to society. Here we have to overlook entirely this tendency, which goes back to the rationalistic conception of Socrates of the instruction of youth, and to consider psychologically the ethical theories of the individual philosophers primarily as the expression of individual needs and demands. Such a study teaches that the history of ethical development within philosophy represents a reflection of the repression of the gross, egoistic, violent and cruel impulses of man and that the struggle against these asocial impulses takes place in the field of ethics, as the struggle against the libidinous impulses does in the domain of metaphysics. Thus, for the special elaboration of ethics, the fate of the predominating infantile instinctive impulses of cruelty and pleasure in mastery will be important, which depend on their mingling with libidinous components (sadism). The establishment of ethical standards comes about by repression of these impulses by means of reaction formation, from which formations result the demands of pity, human love and like esteem of fellow men. That opposing asocial impulses originally underlie these ethical postulates is plainly shown in the ethical revolutionaries appearing from time to time, who ridicule the coddling morality of pity, and prize as remedy the unscrupulous devotion to crass egoism, the will to power, like Stirner and Nietzsche. But even so profound a follower of ethics as Schopenhauer cannot do enough in the detailed description of evil, cruel and jealous instinctive impulses; it is even reported by Spinoza that he, under pretense of scientific aims, tormented insects most cruelly; the most pretentious ethicist among the philosophers,

<sup>55</sup> Compare the works of Dr. Phil. Alfr. Frh. v. Winterstein and Dr. Eduard Hitschmann in "Imago," II, 1913, Part 2, April.

Kant, began his philosophical career with an article "concerning radical evil in human nature."

Thus, the history of ethics shows the unceasing alternation between the pressure of the reaction-formations against the egoistic instincts and the tendency to carry these through, regardless of everything; both kinds of attitude are conditioned by particular instinctive tendencies of the individual and the more or less successful repression of definite groups of instincts. A similar relation exists also in the demand, enunciated in many ethical systems, for complete or partial renunciation of sexual intercourse and the numerous limitations of sexual pleasure (sexual ethics).<sup>50</sup> Youth is thus nothing less than teachable, everyone is rather necessarily "ethical" so far as his repression suffices for the erection and maintenance of reaction formations, and the demands of individual philosophers can first have significance and application, only for themselves and a number of similarly endowed individuals. That, under such circumstances, the eminently important problem of apparent freedom of the will, in the sense of a psychoanalytic view of the world, needs a revision, may be merely mentioned here.

If we would attempt to gain from our viewpoint an insight into the genesis of ethics, we must proceed from the fact that its essence exists in the renunciation of a gratification in pleasure which the individual voluntarily imposes upon himself. That far, the old taboo prohibitions are the direct forerunners of the ethical standards. Of course, the motivation is quite different in the two cases. For, the limitations by the taboo go back, as far as a conscious motive was formed for it, to an entirely egoistic basis, the anxiety before an evil threatening the transgressor. The unconscious grounds, on the contrary, are the social considerations in those institutions, especially the primitive family, the existence of which would be threatened by the temptation which the taboo would forestall. The temptation itself became repressed and, at the same time, the correct motivation connected with it must have become inaccessible to consciousness. Since the welfare of the individual is closely united to that of the race, the social grounds go back again in great part to the egoistic. For the other part, however, libidinous desires participate, which invest the renunciation in mental life with permanency, by rendering it pleasant, at

<sup>50</sup> Compare Christian v. Ehrenfels: "Sexualethik" (Grenzfragen, No. 56, Wiesbaden, 1908).

least in indirect ways. Such motivations, proceeding from the libido, and mostly probably secondary, are for example, the experience of greater gain in pleasure by deferring the gratification or the love to a person whose claims and emotions may be spared by the renunciation.

In contrast to this, in the ethical position, egoism may play absolutely no further rôle as motive, except as anxiety before punishment. It is suppressed; in the most extreme case of the "saint," it is even repressed from consciousness like the asocial wishes with the taboo. The social motivation, on the contrary, which, to-day, where the family no longer coincides with the state and humanity, has become colorless and unobjectionable, is now placed in the foreground and published as the only and sufficient one. Concerning the sources of this social duty, two chief opinions have been advanced in science, of which one represented by Rousseau seeks a voluntaristic determination in the "original goodness of human nature," while the other, intellectualistic, centers in the categorical imperative of Kant. To the unconscious motivation of ethics, as reaction formation against repressed instincts, attention has already been called. The chief tendency of the taboo barrier was to make physically impossible, the forbidden (action) by cutting off every opportunity, while the method of action of ethics consists in mental energies trying to draw the will to their side.

Farthest removed from the sphere of direct influence of the unconscious seems to stand law, since it grants to gratification in pleasure the smallest place and represents most strictly the material and logical conformity to the end in view, thus, adaptation to reality. Law, in its pure form, renounces entirely the demands on the community of emotional interest, its formula is not the "you should" of ethics but the matter of fact "if you do this and do not do that, a definite injury will be done you by the community or a definite advantage withheld," wherein it leaves out of practical consideration for the individual to decide. In this, the statutes stand nearer to the taboo than does ethics, only the taboo threatens an indefinite evil from indefinite source. If this didn't happen, then probably the punishment was decreed by the community and thus the transition from taboo prohibition to law was effected.

We leave entirely out of consideration the civil law, and would devote a short consideration only to the criminal law,

which, because of its saturation with ethical and religious views, stands nearer to the unconscious mental life. This relationship makes its appearance also outwardly by the manifold symbolism with which legal decisions and execution of punishment were adorned among all peoples.<sup>87</sup> Even in our time, which puts aside the symbolism that is otherwise unsuitable for practical ends, a bit of this symbolic dress has remained in the criminal process. The significance of this symbolism has been happily investigated by J. Storfer<sup>88</sup> in a case of punishment of parricide in ancient Rome. He succeeded in showing that the symbolism has been the expression of the universal unconscious assumption, that the motive for the murder of a father (the basic case of parricide), is always the striving for the sole possession of the mother. Of such an hypothetical form of the participation of the unconscious in punishment, we may naturally speak, only in figurative sense. In truth, the case must be that every individual unconsciously transfers himself into the mental situation of the criminal, identifies himself with the latter. The crime, which the community punishes, was thus unconsciously committed by each of its members. The punishment gives the community welcome opportunity to do the otherwise forbidden cruelty under a social sanction. The predilection with which on such occasion the same was meted out to the criminal as he had done and the unconscious of the others had wished (*jus talionis*), is to be considered as final real execution of the wish awakened by the crime.

The criminal who committed these acts which the others have already renounced thus represents a lower stage of control of instincts, viewed from the standpoint of present day culture, a phenomenon of regression to more primitive epochs. The anthropological similarity between the criminal and the savage, emphasized by Lombroso, has a psychological parallel in the neurotic, who fails in the social order from failure of repression of instinct, though in different manner.

Criminal psychology has hitherto made little use of the insight of psychoanalysis.<sup>89</sup> One way, which allows the recog-

<sup>87</sup> Max Schlesinger, *Die Geschichte des Symbols*, Berlin, 1912, Book III, Chap. 2, as well as other literature there noted (page 267 ff.).

<sup>88</sup> J. Storfer, *Zur Sonderstellung des Vätermordes*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1911.

<sup>89</sup> In this connection, compare Erich Wulffen, *Der Sexualverbrecher*, Berlin, 1909.



dition of a connection with the unconscious, was indicated by the association experiment. The method chosen in that is the one elaborated by the Swiss school of psychoanalysis (Jung and others), in which it had been demonstrated that the feelings and experiences of the subject of the experiment could frequently be brought to light by his reactions to a series of selected stimulus words. Since for the criminal his act belongs to the strongly emotionally toned complexes, the attempt was made to determine the condition of facts and convict the presumptive criminal.<sup>60</sup>

We have previously spoken of crime, as a phenomenon of regression, and must now also consider the question under what conditions a deed could be so estimated. Also in this regard, the previously mentioned work of Storfer affords valuable explanation. In this early stage of social development, in the epoch of patriarchies, murder of the father was synonymous with high treason; since the primitive kind of expiation otherwise practiced, the blood revenge, was impossible in this case—not within the family because the son, by the success of his deed, would have become chief of his sex and not from family to family, because no injury to a strange fellow man was present—the endeavor to protect the life of the most important member of the community became the first occasion for the establishment of culpability for an act, from the viewpoint of public law. Therefore, murder of a father is to be considered as the archetype of crime.

In primitive relations, the motive of such a deed is to be sought in the economic rivalry between father and son. As a matter of fact, there exists among many people the institution of setting aside the father by the son who has attained power. Amidst the family property, the wife stands in first rank and the exclusive right of the father to all the women of the family has left behind its traces in the *jus primæ noctis* of the patriarchal commonwealth. The parallels with what psychoanalysis has found in the unconscious mental life of the individual may thus be shown in the origin and development of the criminal law.

<sup>60</sup> C. G. Jung, *Die psycholog. Diagnose des Tatbestandes*, *Juristisch-psychiatrische Grenzfragen*, IV, 2, Marhold, Halle, 1906.

A. Stöhr, *Psychologie der Aussage*, *Das Recht*, Sammlung v. Abhandlungen f. Juristen und Laien, Vol. IX/X, Berlin, 1912.

## CHAPTER VII

## PEDAGOGY AND CHARACTEROLOGY

Psychoanalysis is not merely a science which represents an essential enrichment of our knowledge of human mental life; rather, it was first elaborated as a practical method of treatment for influencing mental disturbances.

The essence of the therapeutic technique consists in freeing the patient from the obsessional control of certain instinctive impulses, unbearable to his ego, but insufficiently repressed, which develop their preponderating effect from the unconscious, while the unsuitable process of repression automatically proceeding from the pleasure-pain principle is annulled in the analysis and replaced by the conscious control of these impulses, corresponding to the adaptation to reality.

The means of this influencing are, according to the nature of the malady, less of an intellectual than of an affective kind, and are aided by the patient's desire for health, as well as his intellectual interest in the analysis. By the associations of the patient, his dreams, symptomatic acts, mistakes, and other expressions, avenues to his unconscious are created and gradually broadened, during which, the intensity of the original repression meets the physician as resistance against the disclosure of the unconscious. The overcoming of this resistance is the chief task of the treatment. It succeeds only with the help of a dynamic factor, on the correct grasping of which, the possibility and outcome of the treatment depend. It is this, the influence of the physician, which becomes possible on the basis of a definite affective attitude of the patient which we call transference, because it corresponds to a sum of affect of sympathy or antipathy transposed to the person of the physician, which had once been applied to important and authoritative persons of childhood (parents, relatives, nurses, teachers, priests). In the employment of the suggestive factor, psychoanalysis differs from all other psychotherapeutic methods in the fact that it remains continually conscious of the peculiar nature of its activity and utilizes the pliant faith of the patient to accomplish lasting changes in his mental life, which guarantees him, after the necessary dissolution of the transference relation, his mental capability and independence.

The effect of the psychoanalytic influence comes from two factors: the freeing of the repressed instinctive impulses from the false symptom-forming attitude and the new and suitable adaptation of these impulses to the real possibilities of gratification, that is, the directing into socially valuable paths of activity (sublimation), which arrangements had failed in an earlier stage of development. The psychoanalytic therapy is thus to be compared to a "late reëducation in the conquering of the remnants of childhood" (Freud) and as such has a claim on pedagogic esteem.

Of course, the therapy developed for adult and melancholy individuals is not suited without change to be transferred to direct application to the healthy growing child. The nature of the psychoanalytic task, and its solution, brought along with it the circumstance that, at first, it throws light only on what one might call the negative side of the educational problem, since it teaches us what influences are to be kept from the child in order to protect it from the later ruin in the neurosis, the downfall of all educational results.

The foundation for the prosecution of the positive pedagogic task must be an understanding sexual education, particularly sexual enlightenment. This should not result from, as so often happens, gross seduction, brusque initiation or accidental overhearing of sexual acts (especially of the parents). Rather, all these injurious influences are to be kept away, but on the other side, every forcing away from healthy sexual knowledge, especially every kind of mysteriousness in sexual matters is to be avoided. So far as possible, one should leave the child alone, with as complete withholding of direct injurious influences as possible, and inhibit him as little as possible in his natural development. The child takes the sexual affairs of which he receives knowledge from the processes of his own sharp sighted observation of the bits of nature around him at first like other facts of experience and so must the adult learn to accept them, if he will be a helpful counselor to the child. A real explanation would first have to be given, as soon as the child himself, by spontaneous questions, betrays an intense interest in the meaning of sexual processes, which, because of his limited experience, can be only partially or not at all comprehensible.

The growing boy, who is interested in the question Whence come Children? has a right, if not to complete at least to

undistorted information, the withholding or falsification of which, may be severely avenged later. But further, an immediately fateful result may come about in the child, who, as a rule, is informed to some extent before the question is asked, if he feels himself lied to and deceived by his parents. Not seldom, he loses all reverence and trust for adults and becomes accessible with difficulty to influence from the educator.

For, already in the child there arises that portentous transference relation of libidinous impulses toward the persons of his nearest surroundings, which was recognized both in the psychoanalytic treatment and in the normal education, as the most important lever of suggestive influence. As the child stands in relation to the parents, especially the father, so will he arrange his attitude toward the respective persons later representing this authority (teacher, priest, superior, chief, etc.) and, therefore, the most important condition of all later educational work remains the formation and preservation of good relations in the family, which, at present, unfortunately, are only the exception and not the rule. On the other side, these relations should not become too intimate, since otherwise, the capability for transference, sublimation and separation of the parent libido, may be rendered difficult and even limited to neurotic fixation. The smooth separation from the authority of the parents and the personalities representing them, is one of the most important but also most difficult performances which is incumbent upon the child at the close of his educational work, if he is to attain mental and social independence. Here, pedagogy has much to learn from the transference relation and its gradual dissolution in the psychoanalytic treatment.

Psychoanalysis allows, however, not only the exhibition and avoidance of errors of education hitherto committed but may also lead to the attainment of better results of a positive nature. The psychoanalytic study of the neuroses has illuminated, from the dynamic side, the problem of character formation and development which had previously remained in almost total darkness. Of course, it can say nothing concerning heredity influencing the character of the man, which goes beyond the scanty and uncertain results of the theory of heredity, but knows ever so much more of the process of its growth, which is decisively determined by external and internal processes of the individual life. Character can be conceived as an especially clear mode of

reaction of the individual, taking place in typical manner; the analytic investigation has now shown that in its formation a far smaller share falls to the intellectual agencies than one had hitherto been inclined to believe. Rather, the character structure rests on an economy of mental interplay of forces suitable for the individual, which sometimes demands a quite definite distribution of masses of affect, a certain amount of gratification, suppression and sublimation of instinct. The remaining character traits of a man are either unchanged continuations of the original instinctive impulses, diversions of the same to higher aims, or reaction formations against the same. Thus can a child, perhaps originally cruel, who gratifies himself sadistically by tormenting animals, later become a butcher or ardent devotee of hunting and thereby continue the old satisfaction and gratification of instinct in little modified, though socially more useful manner; he may, however, choose a profession which allows him this in the service of higher, more intellectual and more scientific interests and perhaps, as naturalist, carry on vivisection with especial interest or as surgeon perform valuable service to science and his fellow men; in a third case, the all too powerful instinctive impulse may fall under intensive repression and seek gratification by way of reaction formation in humanitarian and ethical activities, which are opposed to the original instinctive aims, thus, the cruel sadistic child becomes in later life outwardly sympathetic and devotes himself with special predilection possibly to protection of animals. Finally, there are possible by the strengthening of original instinctive tendencies during the course of development and deficient formation of inhibitions, the antisocial outcomes in perversion (sadism) and crime (cut-throat), as on the other side, an overintense repression can lead to unfortunate outcome in the asocial neurosis (obsessional).

Other attributes of character show less simple relations to the component instincts underlying them or the endeavors springing from these; many are not simple in their origin, since individual components of instinct can undergo various fates; on the other hand, many partial instincts may have interacted for the ultimate formation of a character trait, strengthening, paralyzing, limiting one another. Still, psychoanalytic analysis of instinct has shown that our best virtues, many of our most valuable mental achievements and social institutions owe their origin to



the transformation of instincts which were originally evil, low and asocial.

Also for the child's later choice of a vocation and the so frequent fateful mistakes therein, the psychoanalytic method of consideration gives the educator certain points of vantage which are worthy of attention, even though often enough, in individual cases, external factors resisting influence inexorably demand their rights. In general, the individual will come nearest to the ideal of education, of being subjectively most happy and at the same time most efficiently fulfilling his profession in the service of society where he is permitted to utilize the infantile sources of instinctive activity in a sublimated and for society more useful form, like that in the above mentioned case of the surgeon.

Besides the dynamic conception, a further piece of psychoanalytic comprehension of character formation rests on the insight, that just the component instincts of sexuality, which are unsuitable in normal social and love life, are earliest capable of such modifications and improvements, so that it is, therefore, the task of education to take the expressions of these asocial and "perverse" instincts in the child, not as occasion for their sharpest violent suppression, but as indications of the proper time and place for a favorable influencing of the instinctive tendency. In particular, there are in early childhood, pleasurable sensation, connected with the excretory functions (anal and urethral eroticism) which undergo the most intensive repression with present-day civilized people, and afford by reaction formations against these "animal" interests, essential contributions to the formation of character. The relation of man toward his animal functions (to which sexuality is also reckoned) and the kind of his mental reaction structures to these, are not only characteristic in general for individuals but seem also, to establish essential racial differences and inclinations.

For the educator, there results from psychoanalytic experience, the demand to keep more sharply in mind, besides the intellectual components of character formation, especially the affective agencies of transference, further the dynamic ones of the sexual instinctive share and its fate, and by consciously directed guidance, to make these useful. In this sense, psychoanalysis must first become an educational method for healthy adults, as it is already for adult patients, with whom the healthy have in common the bit of amnesia for the important processes

of childhood, which renders difficult and prevents the understanding of the mental life of the child. It will be the task of a psychoanalytic propaganda to educate the educator to self knowledge, to mutual freedom and candor, which are demanded for intimate dealing with children and for their favorable influencing.

Throughout, psychoanalysis warns against imposing on the child too severe demands for repression, emphasizing rather, more careful consideration of the individual capabilities which, of course, should be raised to a certain common cultural level. In general, it cannot be so much the task of education to create new repressions in violent manner, as rather to observe carefully, and support appropriately, in its appearance and progress, the tendencies to repression, which has already begun spontaneously on the basis of internal processes and the general influence of civilization; in particular, to see that this repression is not demanded in exaggerated intensity, thus turning the instinct into false and injurious channels. Psychoanalysis recommends striving for control of instinct in place of suppression of instinct, the aiding by certain premiums of pleasure the child in the renunciation of momentary gratification in pleasure in favor of a later more valuable one adapted to the demands of reality; these premiums, however, should not consist in customary manner of material things (playthings, candy, money, etc.) but in ideal values. The child is only to be educated by love, and under this condition, will feel sufficiently punished by the temporary withdrawal of this. Only for a beloved person does he gladly give up the undesirable activities and aims, and assumes in imitation, by way of identification with adults, what culture, in the shape of this beloved object of love, demands of him.

Outside of the negative and positive hints and stimuli which pedagogy can gain and make use of, from the results of psychoanalytic investigation of the mental life of the adult, in the education of those who have failed, the practice of pedagogy offers frequent opportunity for bringing into direct application the psychoanalytic viewpoints and technical aids, where we have to deal with children and youths who are already in false paths, to influence favorably and to prevent further, perhaps serious injuries, even before they have opportunity to encroach in devastating activity upon the social life. Excluded from pedagogic influence in this sense are feeble-minded, morally deficient or degenerate individuals, as well as outspoken neurotics, whose

treatment should be left to the analytically trained physician. In spite of these limitations, there is open to the pedagogues and also, as the promising works of the Zurich pastor, Dr. Oskar Pfister show, to the spiritual adviser, a rich and fruitful field of work, which, as yet, lies as good as fallow. A mass of childish peculiarities, which are either not at all, or falsely understood, and are usually rendered worse by the bad pedagogical measures, reveal themselves to the educator trained in psychoanalysis, at first glance, as neurotic traits determined by the unconscious; the early recognition of these traits in the period of their appearance in youthful age, can easily render them innocuous; at the same time, the neurotically disposed individual is enabled by such attention to enter upon the struggle for the control of his instinctive life, better prepared. Everyone who has experienced, even in a few cases, the satisfaction of having childish faults, as meanness, stubbornness, shyness, lying, stealing, fear of work, which faults had obstinately resisted every pedagogical influence, disappear as result of the psychoanalytical tracing back of these activities to neurotic attitude toward the parents, or false displacement of instinct, indeed, often to see these vices give place to opposite virtues, must give expression to the conviction that psychoanalysis is destined to perform invaluable service to the science of education. But further, certain severe clinical symptoms, as anxiety conditions of definite kind (fear of animals, *pavor nocturnus*, etc.), idiosyncrasies (against foods, persons, objects), eccentricities and mild nervous symptoms of physical nature (stuttering, nervous cough, clearing of the throat) prove by their neurotic character and the easily attainable influencing from circumstances under the control of the educator, to be accessible objects for pedagogical psychoanalysis; at any rate, they are recognizable, *in statu nascendi*, to the analytically trained educator, and where it is necessary, can be referred early to medical treatment.

In general, one may say that psychoanalysis, as it has already progressed far beyond its originally purely therapeutic significance to a science, indeed to a mental movement, also gains its pedagogic application beyond the field of individual prophylaxis in a social significance as a positive educational theory. And if also the psychoanalytic direction of investigation calls upon it to proceed, always of necessity, from the unconscious mental life, still, it is not to be overlooked that in ultimate end, psycho-

analysis strives for the better control of this unconscious by constant widening of the conscious field of vision. Therewith of course, is imposed on man, who, with the beginning of civilization, had to learn to renounce the direct utilization of certain sources of pleasure, and with the gradual progress of culture, also the wish compensations of these, described in the foregoing chapters, a further denial, which is counterbalanced by the intellectual factor of pleasurable knowledge and conscious control of his own ego, as well as the outer world itself, up to a certain degree. In this renunciation of the pleasure principle in favor of adaptation to reality demanded of humanity, education is our most valuable means of assistance, since it can prepare the young and growing human child for this adaptation at the right time, show him suitable ways to substitute gratification, and thus make him adapted to the civilized life, while it avoids and prevents the flight into the old mental attitudes which have been abandoned as unsuitable.

## ABSTRACTS

### Imago

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ABSTRACTED BY LOUISE BRINK, A.B.  
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1. Some Similarities in the Mental Life of Primitive and Neurotic People.  
III. Animism, Magic and the Omnipotence of Thought. SIGM. FREUD.
2. The Titan Motive in General Mythology. Presentation and Analysis.  
EMIL FRANZ LORENZ.
3. Carl Spitteler. HANS SACHS.
4. The True Nature of the Child Psyche. Edited by H. v. HUG-HELLMUTH. I. Earliest Infantile Memories. H. v. HUG-HELLMUTH. II. "From the Soul of the Child." THEODOR REIK. III. Leo N. Tolstoi, Childhood. Autobiographic Novel. EMIL FRANZ LORENZ.

1. *Animism, Magic and the Omnipotence of Thought.*—Freud employs the psychoanalytic insight for the understanding of that branch of mental science, the vast territory known as animism. He uses the term to denote the remarkable conception of nature and the world held by primitive peoples, by which they fill the world with countless spirits, good or evil, and animate the inanimate things of nature. This conception still belongs with us, though narrowed to a limited belief in spirits and in the explanation of processes of nature through impersonal forces. Primitive man believed in individual human souls, which are the agents of individual spiritual activity and are to a certain degree independent of the body. Originally they resembled the individual and only reached a partial degree of spiritualization. This idea of the soul and of spirits was influenced doubtless in large measure by sleep with its dreams, by shadows and mirrored forms, but most of all by man's denial of death and demand for immortal life.

This conception is primitive man's reaction to the consideration of the outer world. He builds up an idea of the soul and then transfers it to the outer world. Wundt considers it, in view of its universality, as "a necessary psychological product of the myth building consciousness and



the psychic expression of the condition of human nature, so far as we may observe it." Animism is a system of thought which permits of a unified conception of the world. It precedes the religious and the scientific conceptions and is perhaps the most fruitful, the most creative, still existent in our superstitions, or in the groundwork of our language, faith and philosophy. It prepares the way for later religious structure.

Practical need to master and control the world rather than speculative desire for knowledge led man to the creation of this world system, by which he gains this end through magic and charms. Through the latter he seeks to control the spirits but magic is probably even more primitive, existing before spiritualization has reached any degree of completeness. It rests on the false idea which "mistakes an ideal connection for a real one." It is illustrated in the attempt to injure an enemy through effigy, to produce rain or promote fructification by imitation ceremonies, or negatively by refraining from the likeness of that which should be averted; all of which is what Frazer calls imitative or homeopathic magic. Parallel with this is another form of magic, contagious magic, according to Frazer, which exercises its power through contact with some object that has once touched the person to be affected, or been otherwise associated with him. It may be merely his name, which accounts for countless taboos of speech, or cannibalistic partaking of a human body in order to imbibe its former qualities, which principle is also productive of restrictions of diet.

The principle underlying all this is the mastery of idea association, or, according to Frazer, mistaking the order of ideas for the order of nature and thereby imagining the same control over things that seemed to exist over thoughts. This explains the method of magic, but the essential nature is discovered by a deeper penetration of this association theory, which reveals its dynamic origin to be the wishes of mankind, and man's confidence in their omnipotence. The play of the child and the imitative representations of the savage act as substitutes for the satisfaction of which they are not yet otherwise capable. This, however, is not a proof of modesty or resignation to a realization of weakness, but the result rather of the overvaluation of the wish and the will dependent upon it with the method it chooses. In time the psychic accent is displaced from the motive of the act to the means so that the magic performance, on account of its similarity to what is desired, seems to cause the result to come to pass. Thought is valued above reality. Things go back to the idea; what belongs to the thought world and the relations between ideas are presumed to belong to actual things. Thought knows neither space nor time, so these are eliminated from things. The reflections of the inner world have eclipsed every other world picture. Both similarity and contiguity are one in principle, one in the direct, the other in a transferred sense. Briefly the principle of magic, of the animistic conception, is the omnipotence of thought.

Freud adopts this expression from an intelligent patient who suffered from a compulsive neurosis, who thus characterized the apparent control of his thoughts over an unexpected meeting with a friend, the expectation of the death of an enemy because he had wished him evil. He could usually during the analysis trace the source of his illusion and what he had done to strengthen himself in his superstitious presentments. In all psychoneuroses, most clearly and nearest consciousness in the compulsive neuroses, the reality of thought rather than experience is responsible for the symptomatic picture. Those things which intensively occupy the thought, ideas bound with affect, are the things that are actual in the neurotic world. They may by chance agree with reality. The hysteric repeats experiences which belong only to phantasy, of course, in the last analysis similar to actual occurrences or based on them. The exaggerated consciousness of guilt in a neurotic who passes among his fellows as most considerate and conscientious is based on intensive and frequent death wishes in the unconscious. The bringing of the hidden wishes to consciousness in the early part of an analysis is sometimes accompanied by the fear that this will make them actual. This shows how close the neurotic stands to primitive man, who believes he can alter the world merely by his thought. Compulsive actions are magic, or at least counter magic against the unholy wishes, which Freud has found are usually death wishes. In fact the death problem probably stands at the beginning of primitive philosophy with its animistic ideas of dreams and of soul. The displacement of the compulsive ideas upon trivial objects makes it difficult to judge whether these defense reactions follow the principle of similarity or of contact. The formulas of compulsive neurosis, however, find their counterpart in the charm formulas of magic. They begin, removed as far as possible from the sexual, as charms against evil wishes in order to end as substitutes for forbidden sexual activity, which they copy with great truthfulness.

The first stage in individual development of libidinous striving is that of autoerotism, which again passes over into narcissism, when the object is found but is still that of the self, a stage which is probably never entirely given up. The qualities of later love objects are emanations of the libido still in love with the ego. The high degree of sexualization in the thought of primitive man accounts for his belief in the omnipotence of thought and his own confidence in his ability to control the world. This attitude remains with the neurotic while the sexualization is strengthened by the repression which has entered in. There results then the intellectual narcissism, the omnipotence of thought. Animism then corresponds to narcissism, as the religious period does to the first stage of object love bound with the parents, and the scientific to the time of maturity, when the pleasure principle is renounced and the individual adjusted to the external world.

Primitive man transferred to the outer world the laws of his own

psychical structure but yet learned while he used magic something of the real nature of things. Spirits also were objects of his magic but in time a part of the omnipotence of thought was transferred to them and religion began. The spirits and demons were projections of his own feelings, by which his affect life peopled the world, like the paranoid Schreber, who found the binding and freeing of his libido in the vicissitudes of the "God rays" combined by him. The paranoiac's projection formation expresses a psychical relief for the struggle between ambivalent feelings, when the strivings after omnipotence have come into conflict with each other. Such a feeling of conflict which death forced upon mankind created belief in spirits, as well as moral limitations, taboo. It was the first recognition of restraint opposing itself to man's narcissism. The psychologic structure of this projection system rests upon a principle of duality which arises from the not understood existence of perception and memory, or coexistence of the conscious and the unconscious. Animism as a system of thought has something in common with the dream. The essential thing in the dream is the latent content, which does not partake of the irrationality and disconnectedness of the manifest content. The "secondary work" of the dream, however, has produced a rearrangement in favor of a new meaning. This furnishes a striking example of the demand of the intellectual function within us for unity, coherence, and intelligibility of the content of thought which would even build up an incorrect connection if the correct one were not at hand. This appears in phobias, compulsive thinking, delusions. It is present in all psychoneuroses, but is a most marked characteristic of the paranoid picture. The psychic material is rearranged to fit a new goal, a compelling one, which has both a delusive motivation and a real one. Freud illustrates this from a patient of his who was actuated by external causes to demand that her husband should put a particular razor quite away, while the real cause lay in the unconscious wish for his death. The compelling idea drew upon itself an external network of conditions. An abasia or an agoraphobia is formed in the same way in a purposeful new arrangement of details, which form the symptomatic expression of the unconscious phantasy, or reminiscence. Like the manifest content of the dream, the symptomatic picture may be multiform and contradictory until the real motivation is discovered. These symptoms are methods of defense just as we must recognize primitive animism to have been. It was the early beginning of repression, which has been the means of cultural advance. The superstitious restrictions contained the germ of later hygiene and esthetic development. Freud cites in closing a superstition which forbids the laying of a knife with the edge uppermost lest God and the angels may injure themselves, and asks if this does not conceal also the unconscious evil impulses.

2. *The Titan Motive in General Mythology.*—Lorenz has made a

profound analysis of this important form of myth with particular reference to the gradual transformation it has undergone in the advance of culture. He contrasts first the mode of procedure of psychic activity and that of natural events. The latter follows an order of law of reality, whose rationalization belongs to intellect alone. The chief peculiarity of psychic procedure is a half insight and then a guess into facts, which is incongruous with reality. We must not forget however that it is the activity of living beings. The psychic life is then a result of the complications and sublimations of such illusions, but not without some real product. That which acts in this way is an unconscious-rational law, whose proof belongs to natural science. The instincts are the expression of this law and the leading and decisive factors in human life. We seek through philosophical evaluation of the psychical life a way out of the limitation of the conscious sphere which this knowledge of the instincts entails, and so reverse the genetic order and seize the extra-psychical as that which is comprehensible. The pure instinct, however, which accepts the idea as the source of pleasure in the absence of the object, proves to be empty and barren in presence of the multiplicity of the world of ideas, the very multiplicity being in fact the object of all the activity. It is necessary to distinguish the instinct of self-preservation from that of race preservation, the former being really a special form of the latter, as the individual is one in the series of members of the race. The universality of the racial instinct is nevertheless frequently obscured by the pleasure bound with it.

Both instincts are at work in myth formation. We recognize the element of nature interpretation, sometimes plain, sometimes obscured, and which arises out of the attempt at orientation toward nature necessary for self-preservation. Only recently has the concealed sexual meaning been discovered. The nature interpretation has always been the controlling one. It has suffered shipwreck however on those fundamental elements which it could not satisfactorily explain. The widespread Jonah myth is an example, where the nature mythologists essay to explain the recurring motive of the hairlessness of the hero on the ground of the heat of the sun's rays at the equator, while psychoanalysis recognizes it as part of the birth phantasy on which the myth is formed, and which explains its universality, as an equator phenomenon surely fails to do. The wish phantasy theory of psychoanalysis also explains the motive of the hero as the youngest son, which manifests itself in the Titan myths. The psychological interpretation, first employed upon the Oedipus myth, where it proved the myth the fulfilment of repressed sexual wishes, has since discovered the similarity of the myth and the individual dream whereby they are parallel developments of one and the same wish fulfilling tendency, the one for the individual the other for the mass. This method of interpretation better evaluates the inner factors and moreover shows its chief strength just at those points where

nature interpretation failed, the shocking, incestuous elements, the immorality of the myth, which can now be explained by the proof which psychoanalysis has brought of the unconscious reality of such ideas and wishes. Nature interpretation is part of that further elaboration, to which the myth early began to submit. Already primitive man, under the influence of repression, particularly of the incest impulse, gratified his prescribed wishes through sexualization of nature and projection of these impulses, as Rank has said, and thus robbed the myth of its shocking character and given it justification. The motive of nature interpretation was of sufficient intensity to obscure the earlier human origin, and moreover primitive phantasy needed the stimulation of outward phenomena, though not exclusively conditioned by them. The nature interpretation motive then is as old as the consciousness of the instinct for self-preservation. The myth in its primitive form is a very complex picture, not more complex however than the man who created it. The instinct for self-preservation creates the nature interpretation, the sexual instinct the fulfilment of typical sexual wishes. The latter instinct is more fundamental partly because of its nature, partly because through its incestuous choice of object it is further withdrawn from consciousness. The much more conscious products of the instinct for self-preservation assert themselves more and more and influence the form, the myth becomes increasingly a wrestling ground of sexual wishes, the nature-mythical again disappears and gives place to a myth of human passion.

On such a basis Lorenz attempts the explanation of the inner thought development of the Titan myth, typical of all other myths. This is the myth of the strife between father and son, embodied in the separation of the father heaven god from the mother earth and the further mutilation of the father by the successful son. The Polynesian form of the myth, which relates the forcible separation by a number of sons of heaven and earth united in the embrace of darkness, gives an almost complete balance between the nature-mythological and the psychological factors. Mythical thought reaches its highest development in the Greek form of the tradition, which furnishes the most complete repression of the nature interpretation and the widest unfolding of the psychological. The many variants of the myth all contain these essential elements. Earth and heaven are the parents of existence. At the beginning they lie in sexual embrace. The hostile attitude of the children results in separation of the parents and emasculation of the father. The myth of the Yoruba tribe in Africa reveals plainly the incest element and moreover manifests the myth proceeding in the order of racial development in the succession of generations among the gods. A number of causes lead to this. It comes about through intermingling of old and new gods following conquest, also through historical religious development which represses certain gods no longer ethically needed. The ethical is here



only a figure of speech, for quite other motives control this phantasy, built as it is upon the incestuous characteristics which are found in the original parents of the series of generations and in their descendants as well.

The Babylonian form of the myth, which shows its great age by going back to the female as the one original being from whose division heaven and earth arise, reveals the infantile sadistic birth theory mingled with the titanic separation motive. The Titan motive is sometimes obscured in the Greek forms, by a powerful motive, which, existing apart from the vital necessity which lay at the bottom of the formation of the nature myth, was so much more able to bring to complete development the affective factors belonging to the unconscious. This influenced Hesiod, who is the oldest source of these myths. His purpose was an apparently ethical one, to forward the power and authority of Zeus in the face of the oppression of the aristocracy ruling in his day, and so he built up a consoling wish structure of a world order under a supreme god. The Titan-motive is thus presented in the "Theogony." Uranos arises without a father from the earth, Gaia, and in his union with her, his mother, produces the race of Titans, the Cyclopes and the hundred-handed giants, or Hekatoncheiraneans. Of the Titan brood Kronos is the youngest and it is he who is instigated by the mother to relieve her of the burden of her sons, whom the father hating them had imprisoned within the mother earth. He separates the father from the mother as he embraces her by night and emasculates him. Kronos becomes a cult god, the god of nature and of birth, and is also identified with the Semitic Moloch. There are traces in Greek customs of a former sacrifice of children to Kronos as the god of vegetative and animal life. Out of this probably grew the myth of the swallowing of his sons in order to prevent their usurping his authority. There are other myths of the swallowing, which Rank interprets as again the birth phantasy united with the incest motive. This explanation is ruled out here by the fact that it is the father, not the mother, who swallows the children. In the myth Zeus is spared through his mother's efforts and takes revenge of the father. The threats of the mutilated Uranos against his children are carried out through Zeus, his grandson, in his victory in the famous battle of the Titans. Zeus enlists as allies for his brothers, whom his father had spewed out again, the Hekatoncheiraneans, who must needs take the field with the opponent of the heaven god, be he Uranos or Zeus. A much older division is suggested between the Titans and the Hekatoncheiraneans, which reveals the brother rivalry motive.

Egyptian mythology offers, too, its form of the Titan myth, not close enough in similarity to support the theory of its adoption as the source of the Greek myth. The conception is deflected into a great variety of forms of the myth. In one of its principal forms it shows the result of inversion, where in graphic form the union of the parents is set to one

side, the mother Nut becoming the heaven god above, whom the figure of the son separates from the earth god Queb, who reclines below. The permanent surviving point in this myth is the son Schu, bearer of the heavens and founder of a new world order. A northern saga repeats the same motive in the form of Ymir, bisexually the parent of a race of giants. He is killed (variation of emasculation) and from his body the world is formed, which conception is paralleled in other parts of the world. A form of the Titan myth found in the *Odyssey*, which represents the attempt to effect an entrance into Olympus, leads to a consideration of the myth of the tower of Babel. The third book of the Jewish *Sibyl* contains in its account of the building of the tower a motive evidently belonging to the oldest tradition, which is especially noteworthy. It is represented there and accepted by later commentators that it was through the wind at the service of the deity that the builders of the tower were discomfited and scattered. In the Polynesian myth it is the wind god who alone among the sons takes the part of the heaven god, and again "the wind of Elohim" seems to be an interpretation of the probably earlier "bird of Elohim" brooding over the waters in the Genesis creation story. The wind, through the blowing of the trumpets, seems to be the cause of the fall of the walls of Jericho.

There are external causes for the widely different forms in which the Titan myth is found, a difference in the mental capacity of the social group to which it belongs, and also a difference in the outer conditions in which they live which determines their controlling interest. The inner purely psychological factor which alters the myth is the displacement of the participation which the narrator has in the traditional forms, and this is due to the psychic affective roots. These lie in the instincts and desires of living, willing man, which, hindered in fulfillment, create this secondary source of pleasure. Kronos is both the subject of the myth and the god of a cult. Man can guard himself better against anticipated danger if the object of his fear has human form, and obtain in the same way hope and peace. Kronos who had freed his brothers from his mother's womb was fitted to help mankind in birth. The nature-mythical factor enters also because of a certain theoretic interest, the form of development taken by that striving for orientation serviceable to the will, united with an affectively toned intellectual functional pleasure, which craves knowledge concerning the origin of things. The nature conception, however, cannot explain the essential content of the myth, which must be taken literally as a psychic reality. The myth is of course an attempt to explain the origin of light, the succession of day and night and other natural phenomena, but all this takes place under a controlling apperception mass, which affectively toned develops a psychic energy for its effectiveness. This controlling apperception mass in the Titan myth is composed of father hatred and mother incest, which are existent in the narrator as in his hearers. Penetration into the uncon-

scious reveals these impulses, once consciously present at a certain stage of development, still active in dreams, neuroses and poetic creation. These are the libidinous impulses present in childhood, which manifest themselves in various erogenous areas and later become centralized in the primacy of the genital zone. The first object is the parent, particularly the one of the opposite sex, with a desire to set aside the other one and have origin from the one alone. The myth is then in its original and its developed form a logical, purposeful whole.

The universal conception of mother earth contains the endless cycle of birth, return to the mother as goal of death and rebirth. The earliest father conception is less distinct, due doubtless to the early ignorance of the causal connection between cohabitation and conception. Gradually, nevertheless, the conception of the world parents was formed from observation of the phenomena of the sowing of seed and its springing up, of the rain streaming from heaven and particularly of the darkness of night when the heaven appeared to descend upon the earth. Then man began to transfer to this parent couple the relations of the child to his actual parents. Therefore we discover in the Titan myth the same elements which psychic investigation has proved in the unconscious, emphasizing again that the myth represents the wishes and dreams of the childhood of the race. The course of development of the Titan myth reveals the same transition through which the individual psyche passes, by which these impulses are in part forgotten, in part altered. In the earliest form of the myth the narrator identifies himself completely with the Titan heroes. The myths of richer form, as the Greek and Polynesian, soon show the presence of defense elements. There is one actor who ranges himself on the side of the heaven god, even though under constraint. Those who rebel against the father cannot maintain order among themselves, when the father's avenger appears. They atone for their deed with complete dismemberment. The Titan act is one of self-defense in which the infantile hatred is projected upon the father, who performs shameless deeds. Only the youngest son, whom the mother conceals in her mouth (another wish fulfilment) dares to undertake his overthrow. An older form mitigates the deed by having all the children share in it. An ethical element now enters corresponding to the feeling in the latent period of individual development, which condemns the rebellious deed. The myth none the less serves repressed wish phantasies, in fact the moral masking justifies them. Sympathy for the rebellious here is now undergoing repression and so Prometheus is punished by Zeus for his benefits to mankind, who become the titanic aggressors. The next step in development is the inversion of the original hate and desire for overcoming the father, into filial love which would preserve the father and honor his authority. Thus Zeus is merely the stern god of vengeance who mercilessly punishes the friend of man, and also through identification with Uranos

completes the revenge which the latter threatened the Titans after his mutilation. This last psychical stage establishes the world authority of Zeus, as in the individual the changing and shifting over of parental authority into the demands of social authority condition a cultural advance which frees the powers of self, through the sacrifice of personal freedom and egotistic source of pleasure, that they may build up an external world of objective value.

There is a limited class of individuals who do not stop here. A second conflict against authority arises in them and bears all the marks of a tragedy when the individual in whom this arises is of a noble nature whose best is dragged into his rebellious struggle against the order of the world and who must then bear the ultimate consequences. Prometheus typifies this tragedy. The transformation of the hatred was only a temporary conclusion for him. The question thrust itself upon him of the worth of the personal sacrifice, whether it would not be better that he should live resolutely according to his own will. Æschylus presents this hero taking the part of Zeus after in vain warning his brother Titans against the conflict, but rewarded only by punishment, the object of the wrath of Zeus against titanic man. Zeus represents the insatiable demands of society toward the individual and the desire for his overthrow. Prometheus, however, even in his extreme punishment has not completely surrendered; he stubbornly retains the secret of Zeus's final overthrow which he alone possesses. In this secondary rebellion against the world order the same infantile characteristics of the original rebellion against authority appear. This order depends on the avoidance of every such slip back into the unconscious infantile attitude. The story of the revelation of the secret Prometheus possesses significantly bears infantile elements. He reveals the knowledge to Io who flees from the wrath of Zeus. The son who considers himself the victim of the father's tyranny recognizes in Io the mother whom he must likewise rescue from the father's power, and her offspring Heracles shall be the instrument, a representation again of the family constellation. In this secret (wish phantasy) the Titans defy fate and realize after further punishment its fulfilment in a compromise which releases Prometheus and wins the knowledge of the secret for Zeus. Such a compromise attitude of mutual concession between father and son, the authority of the older generation and the rights of the younger, is the condition of advance.

The golden age of childhood, a widespread conception, is a mass phantasy like that of the individual which seeks satisfaction in an ideal past and future in contrast to the present with its evils. Thus the age of Kronos was a golden age when he had overcome the father and reigned upon earth, establishing blessing and fruitfulness upon it. The ethical transfer of sympathy allowed this phantasy to exist side by side with the opposite conception of Kronos the patricide. But are not these

two motives the negative expression, the one of the other? The golden age is the substitute for the repressed crises in the psychosexual family constellation.

The Polynesian myth manifests the same course of development as the Greek. The myth of the tower of Babel shows theological influence in the advanced stage of sympathy against all the titanic human race reached by it. The German myth, separated from its later Christian influence, reveals the earliest developments only, where the aggressor has not yet become an object of scorn and suspicion. Repression is however already evident here in the insertion of a female figure and the transference of the titanic deed to the instigation of the mother. This reminds us of the form of the Indian and Babylonian myths which manifest the infantile sadistic birth phantasy and which remains the far stronger component of the myth, less capable than the psychosexual attitude toward the father of affective, ethical and cultural development.

Lorenz now returns to the question of the relationship of the nature and psychological interpretations to each other in the various developmental stages of the Titan mythology. The attempt at orientation in the material world on the part of the instinct for self-preservation, under the controlling apperception mass of a sexual nature, finds in the external world fulfilment and justification for its typical sexual wishes. The nature-mythical element is surely to be recognized in the earlier forms. This primitive layer had not yet taken full advantage of the source of pleasure which lay in the inadvertently introduced nature interpretation. But as the myth is experienced as a source of pleasure it demands a changed manner of presentation. The myth like the dream falls under the censor because the wish thoughts which the phantasy seeks to gratify are incestuous and a defensive repression arises, as when the sympathies are transferred from the original hero to the father, a significant step in freeing the myth from its external natural foundations, for this displacement of sympathy has no place among those fundamental facts with the explanation of which the myth first occupied itself. The myth flourishes none the less removed from these original factors, even while the freed affect strives in a logical further development for ever new forms. This gives added proof that the affective factor must have been latent in the myth from the beginning. Otherwise the development would not have been organic, but the history of the myth would have consisted of two parts merely connected externally. The effort to discover the approximation of the two motives arises from the attempt, successfully made by Sachs, to conceive of the origin of animism as a hetero-erotic substitute formation arising, through the repression of the autoerotic libido, out of the primary narcissistic libido fulfilment in its undifferentiated unity. Such an attempt gives the unifying link between the autoerotic root of the nature-mythical components and the hetero-erotic foundation of the sexual apperception; namely, libido attainment upon the different levels of sublimation.



3. *Carl Spitteler*.—The artist's creative phantasies, Sachs says, have necessarily the deepest unconscious source and represent a mighty struggle between desire and prohibition, wish and anxiety. His ability to bring this struggle to full expression, in which he loses himself to find himself again, separates him from the mere dreamer or the madman. The measure of the psychical power necessary to the complete overcoming of resistances and the freedom of artistic creation appears to be the secret of genius seemingly independent of fate or of the order of cause and effect.

Carl Spitteler, the Swiss poet and unconsciously sponsor for the title of this periodical, has this wonderful intuitive gift of insight into unconscious processes. His "Imago" is a narrative illustrative of the love returning from the repression and seeking ever new forms rather than the original love object, and revealing thus the very heart of the unconscious complex, the Oedipus situation, in which the imago of the original father-mother object persists, rather than the actual parent forms themselves. These dwell in the heart of every one, influencing the love life and only with the neurotic becoming again actually merged into the real father and mother. Victor, the hero, escapes the world of illusion because he is a poet and maintains the upper hand over his creatures, and instead of setting them falsely into reality creates for them a new world where they live freely, a "purer" kingdom than that of reality, but of the nature of the dream world; that is, the kingdom of his art. The poem teaches many things concerning the neurotic mechanism, without detracting from its artistic value. Victor in half conscious irony recognizes these mechanisms which he uses to overcome his phantasies; he exemplifies also the "Psychopathology of Everyday Life" in the failure to remember the house number of his beloved and the crowding back of the unpleasantly affective incident, which among others reveals his mistake. He had come as the "judge" to punish her for unfaithfulness, yet the sound of a child's laughter, which arose from the wrong house, was crowded back to the latest recognition as of possible relation to her.

"Konrad der Leutnant" unfolds the conflict of a cultured man, who is finally destroyed through the rebellion against his father and the love of his sister. The one fetters his freedom of action, the other prevents his independence of family in the choice of his love object. The hidden death wish against the father gradually manifests itself. Even though in a fortunate hour he obtains the father's authority and also chooses his bride, he soon finds that his conflict is an enduring one. His father bewails that his son has dealt him a death blow, and at the same time all the jealousy in regard to sister and bride flame out. The one urges him from his undertaking against his father (Sachs has given but meager details of the story), the other drives him to it. In the struggle he himself receives the death blow, the victim of the unconscious striving for self-injury, even self-destruction, which the poet's insight recognizes.

Spitteler reveals in "Die Mädchenfeinde" an insight into the reality of infantile sexuality as an aggressive impulse long before it is directed toward the true goal and object. Sachs has furnished only glimpses into the poet's penetrating insight into the unconscious, but they suggest the psychological as well as the artistic value of his work.

4. *The True Nature of the Child Psyche. I. Earliest Infantile Memories.*—Von Hug-Hellmuth himself contributes the first of the series edited by him on the psychology of early childhood. He says that the few memories that rise clearly out of the great blank in memory which lies usually beyond our seventh year are denied any special significance by most adults. Psychoanalysis, however, furnishes the means for following the traces of psychical events back into the first years of life, when the psyche was open to the influences of joy and pain and, under the impression of its first feeling, realized self-consciousness. Children forget partly through the mobility of elements in the infantile psyche, but also through repression of certain trends of thought which were of sufficient importance to have been retained. The absence of ethical and moral valuation allows of a more intense valuation under the influence of the sexual and erotic feelings than with adults. But this earliest thought and emotional life learns an early repression from the conscious to the unconscious. The repression is strongest exactly with this forbidden content, and indifferent things take the prominent place in memory.

Otto Ernst furnishes an illustration of outstanding memories from childhood evidently strongly affective, but with the memory centered upon the accessories of the scenes in which the feelings were roused. His little hero recalls the setting of a conversation between his mother and a neighbor but not the important affective element belonging to it. He also rejoices in the memory of the glittering and unusual accompaniments of a happy Sunday morning in company with his beloved "god-like" father, the affective joy in whose presence was displaced upon these lesser details. Ganghofer's early recollections reveal somewhat more clearly the erotic tone. His earliest impression is of fear of sudden darkness from which he cries out, explained by his mother who recalls with difficulty a scene when he overthrew a lamp and cried to her out of the darkness for the comfort, with which of course she rushed to him. A second impression is of running along with painful feet, shivering with cold though the sun shines, followed by people running and laughing. This arises from a gleeful childish escape from the bathtub, where his mother had left him a moment, out into the street and straight to the forestry office where his father worked to throw himself in this complete exhibitionism and at such an unaccustomed hour upon the tenderness of the beloved father. A more painful experience reveals how early the eternal mystery between man and woman makes itself felt in the childish soul. The little fellow, four years old, was sent from

home to spend the night in the care of a young woman with whom he had spent many happy hours of play. He was put to sleep in her bed and, awaking as she retired, a fine frolic took place. When all was quiet and both had lain down to sleep, the young woman suddenly crept over him to fetch something from a table near. "Like an Alpine avalanche upon an unsuspecting sleeper" a sudden fright fell upon him, and from that time on the child was no more able to submit to the kisses or the teasing of his former friend; for many years indeed there was a resistance to all girls. The unconscious desire to spy upon the mysterious secret had been unexpectedly gratified but through a woman still further removed from him than the mother to whom the desire was really directed. But the forces of education already busy at repression aroused only anxiety and disgust. Only one little playmate escaped his feeling of disgust. She followed his example one hot summer day, put off her clothing and leapt with him into the brook. Then he discovered that the dear God had made her an ideal creature who not only had nothing in common with the shocking appearance of the older maiden, but had even no organs which necessitated the performance of the bodily functions for which in himself he had a strong aversion. The fact that he had discovered at home on his return from the night at the young woman's house a newborn brother and that this brother died a few months later, brought the mystery of birth and death with greater intensity to his childish soul. Other reminiscences which our author quotes probably owe their persistence to erotically toned accompaniments of the actually remembered experiences. Goltz reports a memory from his childhood in which, like primitive man, he makes the earth a sleeping woman, the Allmother on whose bosom the child nestles at night to be soothed from his disturbing dreams. Two reminiscences from von Hug-Hellmuth's own childhood give the suggestion of the importance of play with water as bearing some of the interest of the natural functions; also another shows the importance for memory of scenes in which the child in some unusual scene escapes somewhat from the ordinary restraint of the parents and also becomes more than usual a center of uncommon events. Selma Lagerlöf, mourning the loss of the beloved grandmother and the fairy tales which went out of the house with her "in the long, black coffin," reveals how the child's longing centers about these accessory things which distract the child from the reality of death. She reveals also a glimpse of the child's erotic interest when she says that it is the tale of the birth of Jesus which alone remains in her memory. Recollections of childhood illnesses contain a hint of the egoistic pleasure derived from the unusual tenderness and solicitude of the parents. The clearness with which early memories of childhood stand out among the confused memory product of a lifetime prove that the emotional life is most active in childhood, and moreover that the intensity of emotion is the decisive factor in remembering and forgetting.

Most of the child's mental life is hidden from sight and only some extraordinary situation grants us a glimpse into its real content. It is because of the pleasure and egoistic advantage to the child that festival occasions hold such a firm place in adult memory and arouse especial longing for old scenes and faces. Several instances are given to show how the sexually colored experience retains a hold on the memory, though the sexual element may be repressed. Punishments which excite the masochistic impulse are an example. The disappearance and sudden reappearance of a forgotten incident is illustrated through the child who forgot very soon his beloved white rabbit because he had shared with the rabbit the disgrace of accidental uncleanness. When the child had overcome this habit in himself then again the memory of the rabbit came out of its repression. The study of infantile memories gives the means whereby we may understand the mistakes children make, their peculiarities which lead to stubbornness or incapacity when the child does not understand his own inner life. It furnishes a prophylactic agent against many an aberration in character development, and grants to the psychoanalyst illuminating insight into psychic disturbances.

II. "*From the Soul of the Child.*"—Reik reproduces certain pictures from this book in which Bäumer and Driescher have gathered rich material for the knowledge of the child psyche, but which needed psychoanalytic interpretation in order to reveal its profound value. The first illustration shows us the doubt aroused in the soul of a child because of a slight accident to the father. It destroyed his perfect faith in the omnipotence of the father, and this repressed is the first cause of later doubt, religious scepticism and arrogance, which often appear as elements of the neurosis. Tolstoi expresses the ambivalent attitude toward the father, the vacillation between reverence and envy, tenderness and hatred. At first it seemed to him like the desecration of a sacred temple to attempt to understand the secrets of the father's life which the child conceived as inaccessibly above his. Yet his unconscious was engaged in this very desecration. On the occasion of a humiliating punishment by his tutor he gives himself up to an elaborate day dream, which contains the elements of the family complex, now familiar to psychoanalysis. Tutor, Czar, and God himself represent the father about whom the phantasy spins through the mazes of the myth of the abused foster child, who discovers the secret concerning his birth and in spite of the entreaties of the foster father refuses to remain longer in the house, goes forth, wins glory in battle for the Czar, putting the latter under obligation to him and seeks as reward revenge upon the tutor. Again he dies in the garret whither the tutor's punishment has banished him, and the father sternly reproaches the tutor with his death. The phantasy then mounts to its supreme goal, blissful union with the mother in the realms of heaven, when suddenly he awakens to reality to find himself sitting in the lonely garret room, his face wet with tears. The questioning of the

justice of God, which had passed also through his phantasy, was like an evil seed of doubt which sprang up to bear later fruit. The phantasy betrays the two fundamental wishes, to take vengeance upon the father and overcome him and to be loved by the mother.

III. *Leo N. Tolstoi. Childhood. Autobiographic Novel.*—Lorenz has contributed further material from Tolstoi's self-revelations. The part that the family constellation, exaggerated by the death of his mother in his tenderest years and the early death of his father, plays in Tolstoi's thought proves that poetic phantasy is not enriched by mere chance but projects its creations from itself, pictures which yield in no way to actuality. His childish longing is on one occasion gratified by the sight of his mother's face diminutive in size, corresponding to the psychic desire in keeping with a bodily weariness. Again a phantasy of the mother and the familiar scenes in which he had known her comforts him for the mortification he had brought upon his father and brother and so upon himself by his awkwardness at a family ball. Curiously, at another time, he made use of his mother's death to disguise his true feelings of hatred. His tutor had annoyed him through various means employed to awaken him until Tolstoi had finally burst into tears of anger and hatred. The tutor with ready sympathy inquired if he had had a bad dream. Immediately the child repented of his feeling of hatred and in order not to confess it answered that he had dreamed of his mother and at the further friendly sympathy of his tutor began to consider the dream as real and continued to sob as he pulled on his stockings and thought of the frightful dream. This ambivalent feeling toward the teacher is perhaps a point in the parent complex. This artist shows not only the power of imaginative anticipation but a knowledge of actual experiences. He describes the kiss which he imprinted on the suddenly bared shoulder of a maiden bending over a caterpillar, and in describing the delight that accompanied it makes a comparison with the pleasure experienced on gazing upon his own arm, significantly expressive of the transference from the autoerotic to the hetero-erotic. This maiden was soon replaced in his affections by a lad who absorbed all his thought and became the center of all his dreams, but he in turn was also displaced. He confesses to the pleasure he experienced in this faithlessness in love and the strengthening of heart that seemed to come from the merging of devotion which had passed, into the mystery of an unknown love. To give up one love and take on another meant to him to love doubly. Tolstoi himself connects the attainment of this "normal" erotic tendency with the death of his mother.



## BOOK REVIEWS

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE UNCONSCIOUS<sup>1</sup>: A STUDY OF THE TRANSFORMATIONS AND SYMBOLISMS OF THE LIBIDO. A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THOUGHT. By Dr. C. G. Jung, of the University of Zurich. Authorized Translation, with Introduction, by Beatrice M. Hinkle, M.D. Pub. by Moffat, Yard and Vo., New York. 1916. Pp. iv + 566. Price \$4.

This is a translation of the author's *Wandlungen und Symbole der Libido* which originally appeared in the *Jahrbuch für psychoanalytische und psychopathologische Forschungen*. Its forthcoming has been anxiously awaited for some time, and now that it is here it fulfills our expectations. It is a work which is fundamental in the history and development of the psychoanalytic movement and, to the translator, Dr. Hinkle, we acknowledge our grateful indebtedness. She has written a very excellent introduction but more than this she has rendered a difficult work into English without leaving any traces in the translation of its foreign origin.

The work is an effort to reach, by analysis, to the underlying psychological necessities which have been responsible, through the ages, for the creation of myths, superstitions, folk-lore, fairy tales, mystic cults and artistic phantasies. This elaboration and analysis of the psychology of culture is made to center about the so-called Miller phantasies. A Miss Frank Miller published in Vol. V of the *Archives de Psychologie*, 1906, an article under the title "Quelque faits d'imagination créatrice subconsciente." In this article she recounts fragments of her experience while traveling, gives her feelings and some bits of dreams, and incorporates also some short poems. It is on what the author is able, so to speak, to read between the lines of this communication, that the material is obtained which is elaborated into an essay on the evolution of thought. The Miller phantasies are the threads that hold the structure together and give the whole presentation unity.

The book is divided in two parts. After a short introduction there follows a chapter "concerning the two kinds of thinking," following which are three chapters devoted to a discussion of the material of the Miller phantasies. It is in the second part of the book that the whole history of culture is passed in review and from which is elaborated the fundamental principles of activity of the libido.

The attack upon the problems of psychology from the genetic side is the keynote of the whole work. Dr. Jung sees the explanation of the present psychic event only in its history, and gives illustration after illus-

<sup>1</sup> See adv. p. vii.

tration to show the deadly parallel existing between a particular psychic production, a dream, a delusion or whatnot, with some belief of primitive man, some tale of mythology or some of the symbolisms of the ancient mysteries. For Jung the libido is the creative energy and he does not believe in the possibility of restricting the concept of libido to the sexual. In fact regression, he believes, pushes the libido back, not infrequently, to earlier, non-sexual levels. This particularly occurs in dementia præcox and so he thinks represents a phylogenetically early result of regression, much more frequent and easy of attainment than now. The application of this libido, forced back from prohibited incestuous application to the presexual stage, may be the explanation of primitive human discoveries, that is, the beginnings of intelligence. The desexualized libido is thus made available for other than sexual ends although, in a sense, it derives its energies from the sexual and carries with it in its regressive course much of sexuality which clings to it. The symbolisms resulting therefrom, while stamped with the character of sexual acts, are not really sexual at all.

From this point the author takes up the specific problem of the libido for freedom, the effort of the individual for full use of his powers and for completest expression. The evidences for the nature of this struggle are taken from the whole realm of mythology, ancient religions, and particularly from such literary sources as the Bible, Faust, and Hiawatha, and the works of Nietzsche and Wagner, while there is considerable comment devoted to Christianity and especially to the manifold symbolisms surrounding the life of Christ.

The conflict is waged for the provision of full use of the libido and therefore is waged against that portion of the libido which remains attached to the mother. This is the libido which is felt as limitation and from which man tries to free himself. The mother thus presents two aspects. While she is the source of all life she is also the "terrible mother," destroying, ferocious, the sphynx, the dragon of mythology.

The paradigm of this struggle, the effort to get full control of the libido, to free the libido of the attachment to the mother is the Sun myth. The sun rises in the east—birth, the gift of life from the mother—pursues its course in the heavens, finally sets—death—is swallowed up by the sea or a great dragon—the terrible mother—pursues its journey during the night in the sea—residence in the uterus—and rises again in the east—rebirth—having descended into the mother, the source of all energy, of life itself, and become renewed, rejuvenated, drunk again at the fountain of the great creative energy, the libido.

This motif is illustrated over and over again through a series of chapters on "the unconscious origin of the hero," the "symbolism of the mother and of rebirth," "the battle for deliverance from the mother," "the dual mother rôle," and finally on the "sacrifice." The sacrifice is the giving up of the infantile libido. Man discovers the world through

this sacrifice, when he is able to give up the mother. The incest barrier then, driving the libido away from the mother, is the creator of thought. Estrangement from reality, introversion, leads to death. The problem of psychoanalysis is the sublimation of the infantile personality or expressed mythologically is the sacrifice and rebirth of the infantile hero.

Dr. Jung's book deserves wide reading. It should gain for psychoanalysis, if not converts, at least a reasonable attitude of mind that recognizes that the new movement has really something to say which must be listened to. It is a book all who are interested in psychoanalysis are glad to have on the market; it adds weight and dignity to our contentions besides being an invaluable source of information.

WHITE.

**THE EVOLUTION OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY.** A Genetic Study of First-Century Christianity in Relation to its Religious Environment. By Shirley Jackson Case, University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill.

The long-established and generally accepted theory that Christianity in its essence at least is a static quantity divinely given and preserved leaves room for only a secondary and superficial influence exerted by environment upon its origin or subsequent history. Advancing thought however recognizes it as the evolutionary product of the reaction of its adherents to their environment in accordance with their religious needs and natures. Starting with this idea Case here reviews for us the world in which Christianity arose, surveying the forces preceding and surrounding its early history from which it draws, utilizing them and in turn impressing itself upon them. This evolutionary character of the faith even to the present day is determined by the very fact that Christianity resides in individuals who must vary and react differently in changing environments. It has been overlooked that even the books of the New Testament are the products of a considerable period of time during which Christianity had been unfolding and growing in contact with the many determining influences of the Graeco-Roman world.

Thus the hostility of the Jews depicted so emphatically in these books was probably a later development and moreover exaggerated by the writers. At first Christianity was closely related to Judaism. Briefly reviewing the nature and extent of this relationship, expounded more fully by other writers, Mr. Case shows how Christianity had much in common with the later Judaism and naturally grew out of it. They shared a common heritage in the Old Testament scriptures in the idea of the prophet teacher realized in Jesus and the hope of a national Messiah. Christianity also doubtless partook of the effects of the contact of the Jews with the gentile world through their past history or in the broader contact of the later time. It was probably only after Christianity had begun to emphasize certain features which became essentials in its

faith that active hostility arose. The working of miracles, which grew out of the ecstatic and pneumatic experiences of the disciples, the author thinks, seemed to the Jews an unlawful use of magic forbidden by their ancient law. The preaching of Jesus as son of God did violence to their monotheism; and apparently they were further aroused by criticism on the part of the Christians that the Jews themselves were not true to the spirit of their religion.

It is however to the Graeco-Roman world that this study is especially devoted. The conquests of Alexander had broken down the ancient barriers that had isolated nations. There had arisen instead the influence of a world power giving in its unity a force and stability under which a new spirit of individualism found opportunity for varied development. Faith in the national gods was necessarily weakened and destroyed, in its stead there was a new longing and reaching after some assurance of individual salvation and alleviation of the distress and want all too prevalent in the vast cosmopolitan empire. For this need Christianity, in due time taking its place among competing religions, offered an ideal satisfaction in the Messiah whose coming again would restore all blessing to his followers, or when this hope was deferred assurance of eternal salvation and deliverance from this present evil world.

This acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah was natural for them of the gentile world long accustomed to the worship of a deified emperor. With the Greeks this had been an exaltation of the hero to the rank of a god, from the Orient had come the idea of the ruler as divine because god-appointed. The redeemer-god also was a concept familiar to the ancient world, as revealed in the many cults of the Orient, Egypt, Greece and Rome! Here were vital, universally accepted beliefs undoubtedly greatly influencing the new religion, while again its appropriation and development of these ideas would be more readily acceptable to those already familiar with such satisfying items of faith.

This age was one of thought and popular dissemination of philosophic teaching in the realm of practical, ethical living. The way was prepared for the teachings of Christianity at the same time that gentile philosophy contributed in no small degree to the building up of Christian thought and doctrine. Anthropomorphic conception of the gods and superstition were frowned upon. Epicureanism denied the objects of superstition, but Christianity counted them real, only to be overcome through the power of Jesus. In constructive religious teachings Christianity and current Cynic-Stoic philosophy met on common ground, but with the Christian knowledge of God was to be attained not by personal effort but through divine revelation, an element of Oriental mysticism, which had also found its way into Graeco-Roman thinking.

In his last chapter the author summarizes the progress of the faith as it was developed variously by Paul, the great exponent among the gentiles, and those who represented closer adherence to the earlier traditions.

Christ was preached the crucified Messiah, exalted above the emperor gods, conferring blessings far transcending those derived from the redemption mystery cults, and supplying the power of self-realization and virtuous attainment urged by contemporary philosophy. The idea of Jesus as the ethical teacher began early to embody his exaltation through resurrection to the glorious, divine Messiah. The fourth gospel finally represents him as the preëxistent Logos appearing for a time upon earth to accomplish his mission. Thus the new faith touches contemporary life in its many aspects adapting itself, deriving inspiration and contributing in turn in full measure its contribution to "current religious values."

It is a volume presenting a suggestive picture of the entering of the new religion into a world rich in interests drawn from a wide and varied past and striving toward new individual and cosmopolitan ideals. There is however a slight feeling of disappointment that the author has not developed more deeply the fundamental aspirations and psychical adaptations to life which would have shown an even closer relation between Christianity and the religions preceding and contemporary with it as but different evolutionary expressions of human life.

JELLIFFE

THE LOST LANGUAGE OF SYMBOLISM. An Inquiry into the Origin of Certain Letters, Words, Names, Fairly Tales, Folk Lore and Mythologies. By Harold Bayley. Vols. 2. Williams and Norgate. London.

Like searchlights flashing over the darkness of unknown or obscured regions, these volumes reveal to us beneath familiar words and more or less widely known pictures an inexhaustible wealth of forgotten and unrecognized symbolic meaning and symbolism of expression. With a survey world wide in extent and reaching into the remotest periods of history and mythology the author shows this symbolism to be the foundation of all language, spoken, written or expressed in mystic drawings.

Mr. Bayley begins with a discussion of the symbolism employed by the Mystics of the Middle Ages, when it was necessary for them, persecuted and suppressed, to communicate in pictorial language, used largely in printers marks and paper-marks, and understood only by the members of their widely scattered company. Through this discussion we are led afar into the mysticism of past ages in many lands, of which these emblems of a later time are but the descendants and adaptations. The symbolism of Christianity and of Free-masonry, a stronghold of symbolism within Christianity, is developed from that of the ancient world, to express the same fundamental conceptions of the Godhead, the great and glorious Sun, Source of Life, the Brilliant, Ever-existent, with the attributes and manifestations at last embodied in the Christian faith.

Through his philological knowledge and skill we see in its crystalliza-



tion the language we use thoughtlessly and ignorantly, each most humble, commonplace word a compact picture built upon a simple, strong root that expresses also an early idea of the great God, his strength, his light, his life-giving or his enduring quality, a root modified as enlarged concepts have been built upon it, but in its last analysis even as in the development that has brought it to its present form, full of symbolic meaning. Place names, surnames, individual names, animal names, words in commonest use, all are resolved to a few roots found in almost identical form beneath all languages of all times. For himself Mr. Bayley claims the discovery of the root *ak*, strong or great, the existence of which, hypothetical at first, he proved real by finding it universal in its use.

The Lost Language of Symbolism is found in the myths and fairy tales of many lands and abundantly in the sacred writings of all religions. There are many references to the former, especially to the story of Cinderella, which appears variously throughout the world. Cinderella personifies Wisdom, being but one of the forms in which the goddess Wisdom, or the Great Mother of All is conceived in the religious mind. The extensive quotations from sacred writing do much to enhance the beauty and interest of the book, and they bring their rich share of symbolic illustration.

The book covers a vast field; its range of vision is the world. It makes, also, a strong poetic appeal. Its philology is bold and daring but freely challenges criticism. Our chief interest, however, does not lie in the validity of the author's philological claims, but rather in the lost symbolism, to the recovery of which his book assists us, whether through etymological analyses or in the very detailed explanations of the marks and designs in the graphic representations or through the references to widespread myths and religious belief. In all this he goes back for the most part only to the earlier sublimated forms of the fundamental, psychical life of mankind. One cannot but feel that he has not carried the symbolism back to its last analysis, that psychoanalysis has the key to a deeper penetration into the fundamental beginning of all symbolism, at which he only hints. He recognizes the idea of the energizing principle derived from the Ever-existent Sun, which finds in the conception of God, even in the primitive mind, its highest expression. He recognizes, too, the "Vital Urge," which in ancient religions expresses itself, also, in phallicism. But when in his conclusion he states that the universality of symbolic expression is doubtless due to the fact that the nations of the earth are descendants of one race living in a Golden Age, probably in the lost island of Atlantis, he seems to contradict his former admission that myths and fairy tales have their origin and growth "from the soil upward" rather than from the ranks of culture downward. If symbolism were completely carried back to the original instincts and impulses of primitive man, what need then of a fanciful Golden Age, from which these things shall have been inherited? Is it not a more

complete explanation of the many, diversified forms of symbolism to recognize them as gradually developing, sublimated expressions of identical primal instincts especially of the strongest, the sexual, which in its broadest sense lies beneath all?

We are left, then, upon some of the higher strata in the unearthing of symbolism. Yet there is furnished us a wealth of material full of suggestion, full of revelation of the forms in which the sexual life seeks expression. Legend and myth are full of it, sacred writings abound in it, graphic representations show it in every expressive detail. Psychoanalysis penetrating more deeply finds, behind the sublimation already achieved in the meanings given, another meaning, which expresses more fundamentally human striving and finds here many an aid to the understanding of the human mind.

Take for example Cinderella hidden in a silver candle-stick and discovered there by a prince; in another version hidden in a golden chest, where she is discovered through the keyhole and then chest and contents are thrown into a briar patch. We note how the candle-stick figures in the tales and again in religious symbolism; also the key, the staff, the spike, the five-pointed star, the crescent moon, the circles or balls of perfection—usually in pairs—horns; and among animals the serpent, birds, the bull, the bear and so on. The study of the unconscious reveals the forceful meaning these must have underlying their later symbolic usage. The pages teem, also, with suggestion in regard to numbers and their significance, offering another fruitful field for psychoanalytic thought, which recognizes the important part these play in the unconscious, particularly as manifested in those mentally diseased. Three or five star flowers are shown surmounting certain solar emblems. The Queen of the Five Flowers "dwelt in a little house round which were seven wide ditches and seven great hedges made of spears." Three, five, seven, four, eight—the number of regeneration—twelve, then multiples of these numbers and numbers formed by the addition of two of them, all are extensively used in picture, in tale and sacred writing.

The book speaks to us *The Lost Language of Symbolism*, and gives us a marvelous insight into the compact poetry underlying the words and signs obscured by long familiarity, and into the rich symbolism through which the race has for ages long expressed its upward strivings and sublimations. Nor do we lose the lofty character of the book if we see behind the symbols set down here, the deeper, more fundamental working of the human mind grappling with its fundamental instincts.

BRINK

*DIE SPRACHE DES TRAUMES. Eine Darstellung der Symbolik und Deutung des Traumes in ihren Beziehungen zur kranken und gesunden Seele für Ärzte und Psychologen. Von Dr. Wilhelm Stekel. Verlag von J. F. Bergmann, Wiesbaden 1911.*

A study such as this demands a high and well-defined purpose, a broadly comprehensive attitude and a fearless readiness to enter into the uttermost recesses of the human mind. Dr. Stekel has prepared this work in such a spirit and with a striking insight into psychoneurotic mental life. The unconscious lies before him an open book and from it he has gathered this extensive material in his practical work with patients, through which he has brought them to a healing understanding and readjustment of their far-reaching complexes and which he here presents in its manifold manifestations for the instruction and guidance of his fellow workers and students in the sphere of mental life.

Beginning with a general consideration of symbolism in dreams the author treats in detail, always through presentation and analysis of concrete examples, this symbolism as it appears utilized by the prolifically active neurosis in distinctively individual fashion or following certain representative pathways common to the human mind. Through these analyses are brought to light in striking manner the mechanisms of dream distortion and transformation in dreams; the place of the affect; special symbolisms, those of animals, plant, children in dreams and so on; the peculiar employment of language in speech or individual words; dreams of birth, of the mother's body, of water, of fire, dreams of flying, the many typical phantasies which appear in the manifest content to be traced out in the latent dream thoughts. There is always emphasized the manifold determination of the dream necessitating a manifold interpretation of the same. Marked simplicity and clearness characterize the presentation of the many phases of the dream life in spite of the manifoldness and complexity of the material.

The discussion of "telepathic dreams" suggests a rather surprisingly unscientific attitude in the mention of a "telepathic fluid" yet the phenomenon is left to future research with some suggestions as to possible explanations, conditioned as such dreams seem usually to be by the death complex.

It is in the death symbolism that the author seems somewhat arbitrary in his assertions. Every dream he resolves finally into death phantasies, an extension of interpretation that seems oftentimes forced and still is frequently borne out by the patient's associations. Death and life he interprets as closely interwoven and both of deep sexual significance. The "universal criminal" is insisted upon throughout. Behind even the Oedipus complex lies the death and murder instinct. All mankind seeks first its own and incest love is a social necessity, the first sublimation of the universal, fundamental hatred.

Dr. Stekel acknowledges this work to be from its nature in a large measure concerned with the superficial layers of the dream, but in this he claims that more attention is given to the manifest content than in Freud's treatment of the dream. The bipolarity of all dreams and symptoms which is continually noted he finds exhibited through this con-

sideration of the manifest along with the latent dream content. In the main however this work is avowedly a concrete exemplification of the application of Freud's theories in the work of dream interpretation in practical therapy.

We sometimes stop aghast at the bold and unhesitating penetration into the dark depths of the human psyche but are reassured by the spirit of optimism that prevails throughout the book. As Dr. Stekel has himself expressed it, it is necessary to look on the shadowy side in order fully to understand humanity. It is the upward striving that is the great fact and this study must inspire to greater watchfulness and better understanding for the freeing of mankind from the false imperatives against which the neurotic struggles in vain and which hinder the successful striving.

BRINK

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